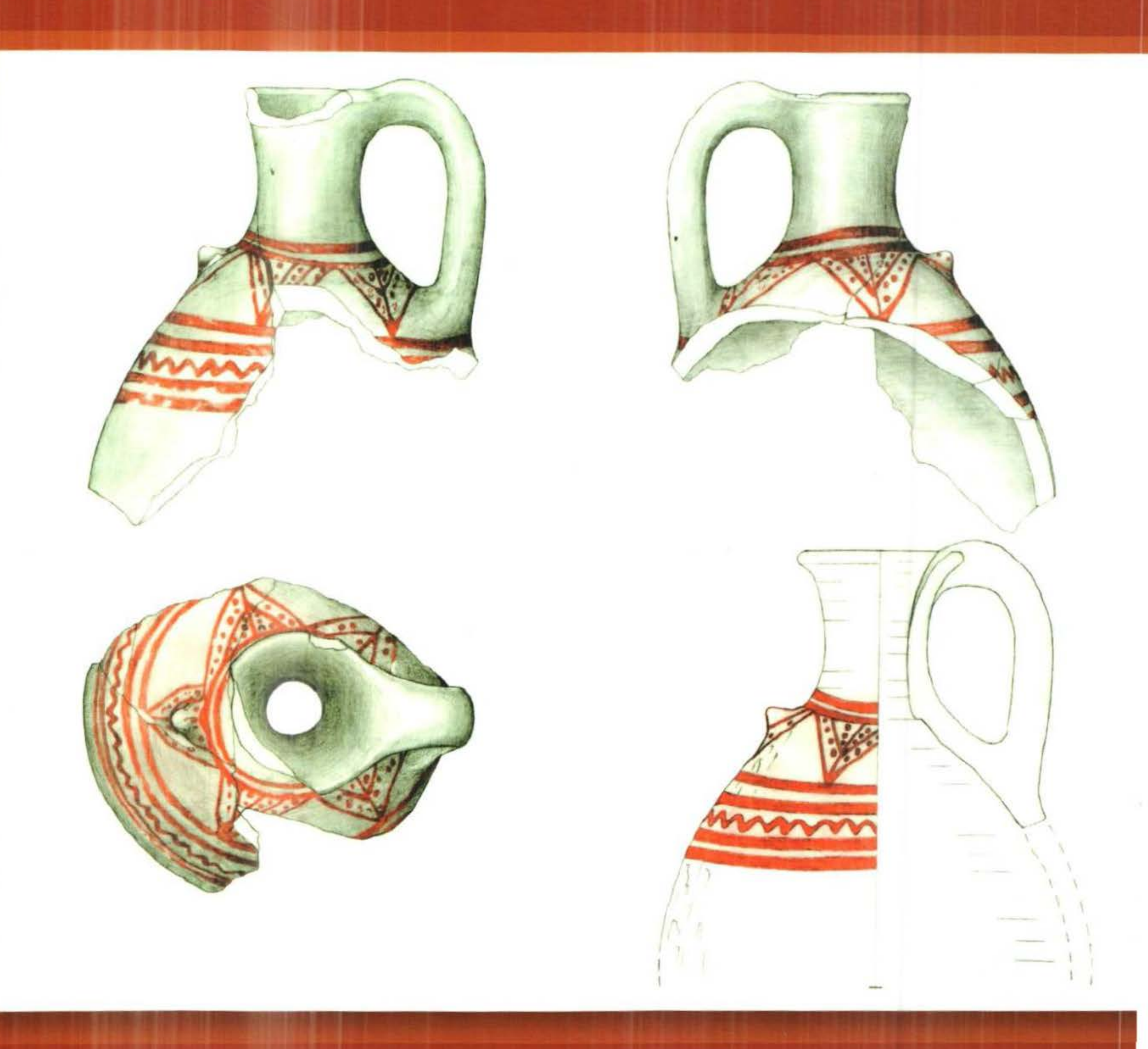
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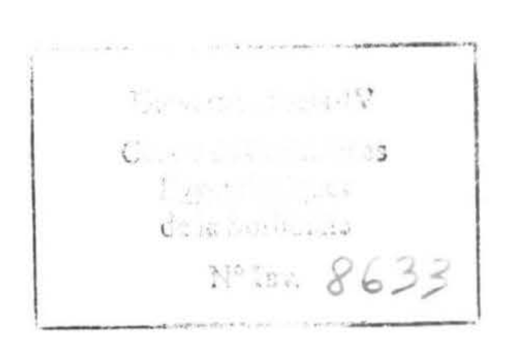

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Herausgeber
Stephan J. Seidlmayer · Daniel Polz
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo
31. Sharia Abu el-Feda
11211 Kairo – Zamalek
Ägypten
www.dainst.org

Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Daniel Polz, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo
Redaktion: Isa Böhme, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo
redaktion.kairo@dainst.de

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INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Die Scheintür des Richters und Geheimrats des Gerichtshofes Nikaure aus dem Alten Reich im ägyptischen Museum Kairo, CG 1416

Von KHALED AHMED HAMZA AWAD*

1. Einleitung

Die Scheintür des Nikaure trägt die Nummer CG 1416 (JE 27486, Abb. 1, 2)[1]. Sie wurde im Jahr 1887 in einem Grab in Saqqara gefunden[2], dessen genauer Ort heute jedoch nicht mehr bekannt ist. Sie ist eine von zwei Scheintüren in diesem Grab: Die erste Scheintür ist die hier besprochene, die zweite gehört der Ehefrau des Nikaure, einer „Priesterin der Hathor" namens *Ỉḥ3t*. Auch diese Scheintür steht heute im Ägyptischen Museum in Kairo unter der Nummer CG 1414[3]. Die Scheintür von Nikaure wird in der Zeit des Königs Neferirkare oder in eine Phase kurz danach datiert.

Das Objekt ist aus farbigem Kalkstein, 294 cm hoch und 126 cm breit. Es besteht aus mehreren Steinblöcken. Sämtliche Elemente einer Scheintür sind vorhanden: Das Objekt hat die Form einer Tür mit einer zentralen Nische, zwei Sturzbalken, vier Türflügel (je zwei äußere und zwei innere), eine Stele umrahmt von zwei seitlichen Öffnungen und einer Trommel. Die Hauptnische ist klein und man kann an ihrem oberen Teil die Öffnung für die Türtrommel erkennen. Der Erhaltungszustand ist gut, abgesehen vom oberen Sturzbalken, dessen Oberfläche teilweise erodiert ist. Des Weiteren fehlen einige hieroglyphische Zeichen.

Alle Darstellungen und Inschriften sind in erhabenem Relief ausgeführt und weisen Reste von Bemalung auf: Die Hautfarbe der Personen ist rot, deren Haare schwarz.

2. Darstellungen und Texte

2.1 Der obere Sturzbalken

Die Darstellungen und Inschriften im oberen Teil dieses Sturzbalkens sind teilweise zerstört und erodiert. Doch da die Darstellungen in diesem Sturzbalken identisch mit den Darstellungen des oberen Sturzbalkens der Scheintür von Nikaures Frau Ihat (CG 1414) sind[4], lassen sich diese ergänzen.

Die noch erhaltenen Darstellungen zeigen ganz links den verstorbenen Nikaure und seine Frau Ihat. Beide sitzen auf einem niedrigen Sitz ohne Rückenlehne und mit Ochsenbeinen und blicken nach rechts. Der Scheintürinhaber hält einen langen Stab und ein Stück zusammengefalteten Stoff in der Hand. Er trägt eine lange Perücke, einen kurzen Bart, einen Halskragen und Armbänder, von denen heute nur wenige Spuren zu sehen sind. Er trägt einen kurzen Schurz. Seine Frau trägt ein enges Frauengewand mit Tragbändern, eine lange Perücke, die die Ohren bedeckt, zwei Halsbänder, eines schmal, das andere breit (beides ist heute nicht mehr erkennbar), und Fußgelenkbänder. Sie umarmt ihren Mann mit ihrer rechten Hand und legt ihre Linke auf seine Schulter. Vor ihnen ist eine dreizeilige Inschrift angebracht, deren Leserichtung von rechts nach links läuft, von der indes ein großer Teil verloren gegangen ist:

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* Universität von Minufiya. An dieser Stelle möchte ich meinen herzlichen Dank und Respekt Frau Dr. WAFAA SADEK, Direktorin des Ägyptischen Museums in Kairo, und Herrn MAHMOUD EL-HALWAGY, Chef der Abteilung für das Alte Reich im Ägyptischen Museum, aussprechen, da sie mir das Fotografieren und die Edition der hier behandelten Stele gestattet haben. Mein besonderer Dank gilt auch Herrn Dr. MATTHIAS MÜLLER (Universität Basel) für wertvolle Hinweise und Hilfe bei der Fertigstellung dieses Manuskripts.

1 L. BORCHARDT, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 1295–1808. Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I. *Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 1295–1541*, Berlin 1937, S. 87–89, Bl. 20 (im Folgenden als L. BORCHARDT, *Denkmäler* I zitiert); PM III², S. 697.

2 L. BORCHARDT, *Denkmäler* I, S. 87.

3 *Ibid.*, S. 80–84, Bl. 19; PM III², S. 697.

4 L. BORCHARDT, *Denkmäler* I, S. 81, Bl. 19; M. SALEH/H. SOUROUZIAN, *Die Hauptwerke im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, Mainz 1986, Nr. 57.

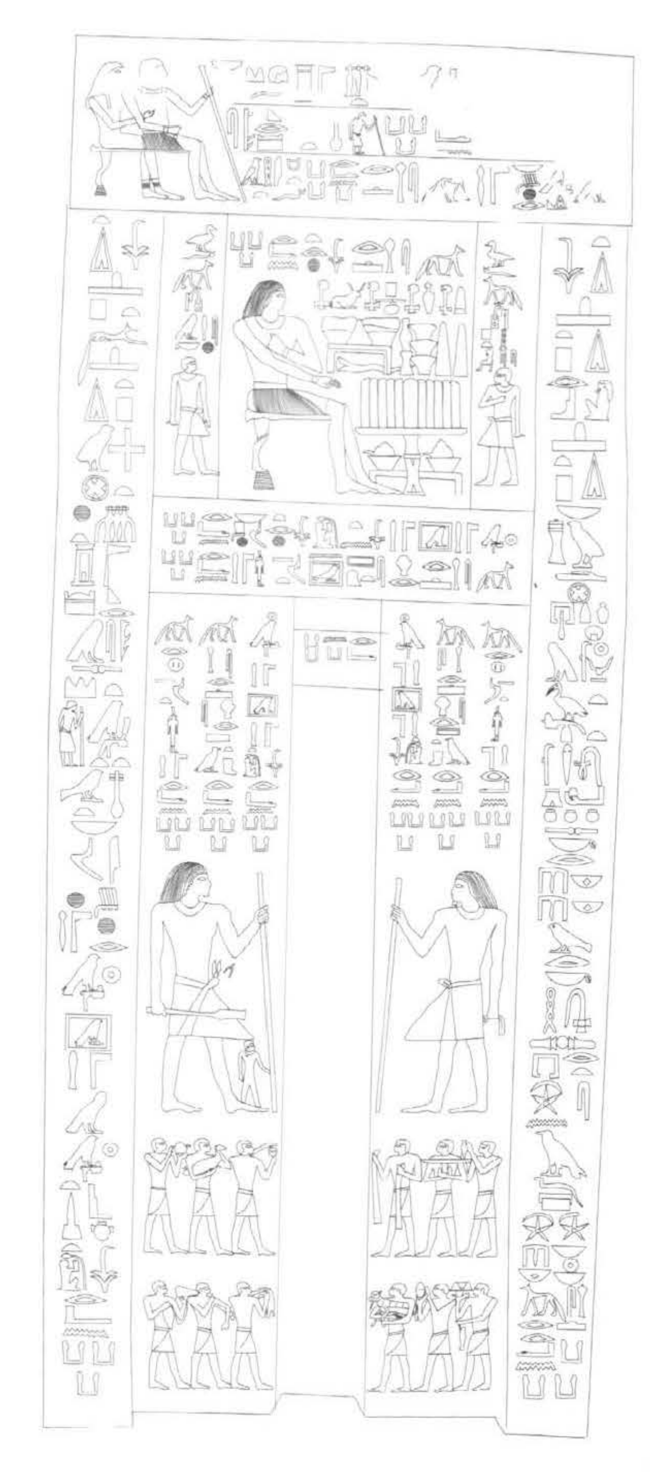


Abb. 1 Die Scheintür des Nikaure
(CG 1416, Zeichnung Moustafa Mahmed)

(1) 

(2)

(3)

(1) *[ḥtp-dj-nsw ḥtp-dj-Jnpw] jmj-w[t]*[5(a)] *ḫntj sḥ-nṯr tpj ḏw=f nb*
(2) *[tꜣ ḏsr]*[(b)] *[sꜣb*[(c)] *sḥḏ jrj-mḏꜣt]*[6(d)] *Nj-kꜣw-[R]ꜥ*[(e)] *jꜥw nf[r]t*[(f)] *qrs*[(g)]
(3) *[m]*[(h)] *ḫrt-nṯr nb jmꜣḫ ḫr nṯr-ꜥꜣ*[(i)] *sꜣb sḥḏ jrj-mḏꜣt Nj-kꜣw-Rꜥ*[7] *ḥmt=f Jḥꜣt*[8(j)]

(1) [Ein Opfer, das der König gibt, ein Opfer, das Anubis], der in der Balsamierungsstätte ist, der vor der Gotteshalle ist, der auf seinem Berg Ruhende und Herr (2) des [heiligen Landes („Friedhofes")], gibt (für) [den Richter und Vorsteher der Boten] Nikau[r]e, ein schönes Alter und ein Begräbnis (3) [in] der Nekropole (für) den Versorgten bei dem großen Gott, den Richter und Vorsteher der Boten Nikaure (und für) seine Frau Ihat.

(a) Teile der Zeilenanfänge der Inschrift sind zerstört. Zwar erschwert dies das Lesen, doch kann man Spuren des oberen Teils vom Zeichen ╪ sowie des oberen Teiles eines Vogelzeichens erkennen. Es handelt sich hier um ein Wachtelküken, was sich zu *jmj-wt* ergänzen lässt. Der Titel erscheint als Beiname für Anubis in den Inschriften auf dem linken äußeren Türflügel. Was die Rekonstruktion des verlorengegangenen Teiles vor *jmj-wt* betrifft, so wird angenommen, dass er der gewöhnlichen Form der Opferformel entspricht: *jmj-wt*, *ḫntj sḥ-nṯr*, *tpj ḏw=f* und andere. Der Titel *jmj-wt* weist auf die Verbindung von Anubis mit den Balsamierungsstätten, deren Standort bis heute unbekannt ist[9].

(b) Hinter dem Titel *tpj ḏw=f* ist eine zerstörte Stelle. Überreste des Zeichens *nb* sind noch zu sehen, während der Rest des Titels verloren ist. Nach der Reihenfolge der Beiworte des Anubis auf dem linken äußeren Türflügel ist dies zu *nb tꜣ ḏsr* zu ergänzen – ein Beiwort des Anubis, das auch auf der Scheintür seiner Frau *Jḥꜣt* (CG 1414) belegt ist[10].

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[5] Der Titel *jmj-wt* ist bei L. Borchardt nicht zu finden, siehe Id., *Denkmäler* I, S. 87.

[6] Die Titel von *sꜣb* und *sḥḏ jrj-mḏꜣt* sind jetzt im Stein des oberen Sturzbalkens dieser Tür verloren gegangen. Wir berufen uns hier auf die Lesart von L. Borchardt, siehe Id., *Denkmäler* I, S. 87.

[7] H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 180, 23.

[8] *Ibid.*, S. 44, 18.

[9] *Wb* I, S. 380, 1–2; *Wb* IV, S. 101.

[10] Kairo CG 1414: L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 82, Bl. 19.

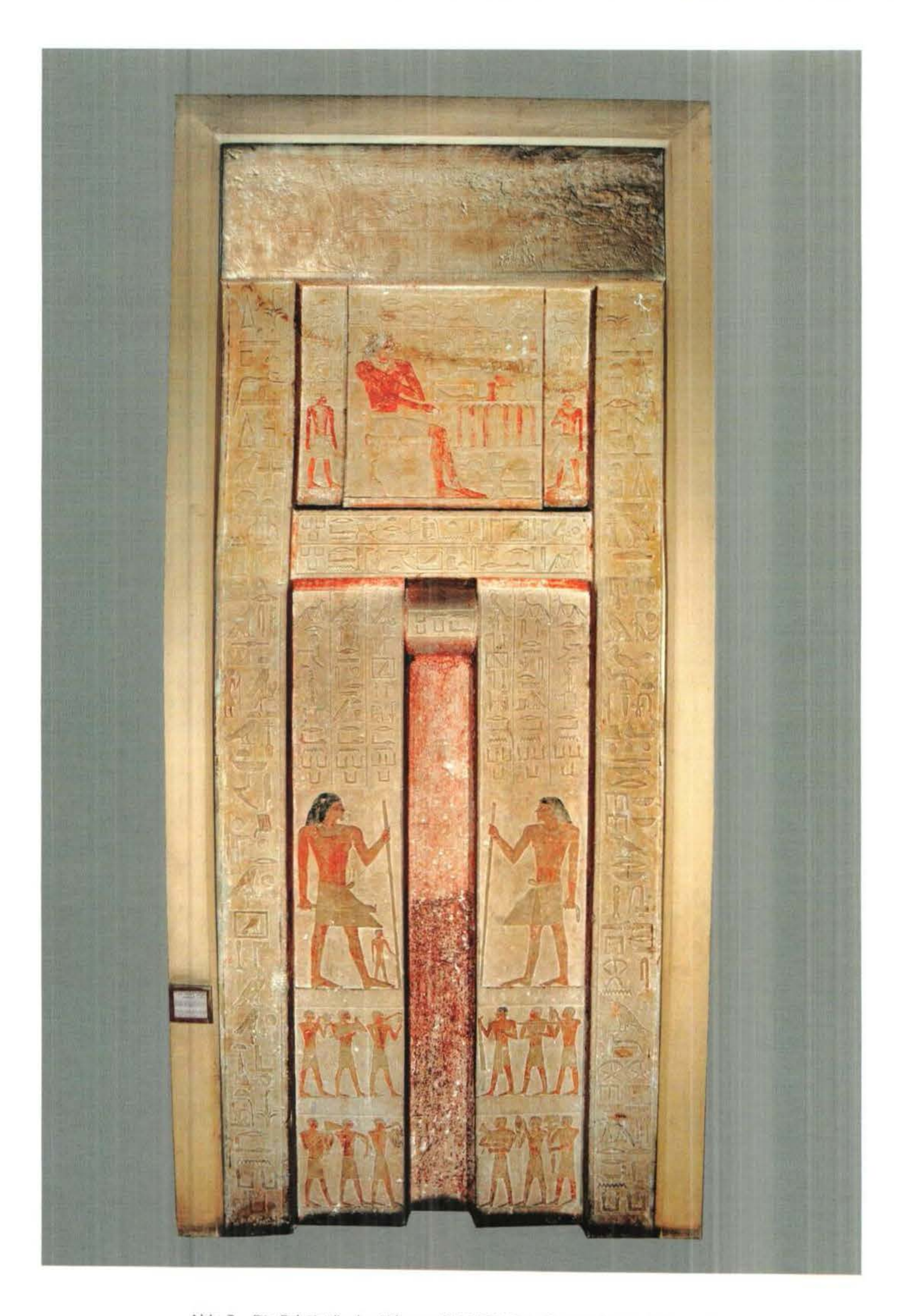


Abb. 2 Die Scheintür des Nikaure (CG 1416, Foto SAMEH ABD EL-MOHSEN)

Diese Titel waren bekannt für Anubis auf Scheintüren des Alten Reiches[11].

(c) Die Übersetzung des Elements *sꜣb*, welches in vielen administrativen Titeln im Alten Reich an erster Stelle stand, ist noch immer nicht eindeutig geklärt. Zwar pflegt man das Wort mit „Richter"[12] zu übersetzen, da der Schakal immer wieder mit den gerichtlichen Titeln in Verbindung gebracht wird, doch versteht Théodoridès unter *sꜣb* einen Gerichtsbeamten, der den Richter oder jede andere Person in der gerichtlichen Gewalt vertritt.

(d) *sḥḏ jrj-mḏꜣt* „Vorsteher der Boten" waren diejenigen, die die „Briefboten" *jrj-mḏꜣt* betreuten und kontrollierten. Der Titel *jrj-mḏꜣt* war in der 6. Dynastie sehr verbreitet in den Inschriften des Wadi el-Hammamat. Diese Vorsteher der Boten begleiteten die Steinbruchexpeditionen und verwalteten ihre Missionen[13]. In einer berühmten Szene in der Mastaba der Prinzessin Idout in Sakkara (aus der 6. Dynastie), sind diese Beamten zu sehen, wie sie die Prinzessin begleiten und die laufenden Arbeiten in den Kanälen und Sümpfen (Fischen, Jagen und Tragen von Opfergaben auf Schiffe) besichtigen. Sie führen ihre Schreibaufgaben aus und registrieren Waren[14].

(e) Das Zeichen *r* fehlt jetzt im Namen *Nj-kꜣw-Rꜥ*. Es ist aber in der Publikation von L. Borchardt zu lesen[15].

(f) Der obere Teil vom Zeichen und dem Zeichen sind heute verloren. Beides erscheint noch bei L. Borchardt[16].

(g) Das Determinativ von *qrst* stellt einen Sarg dar und wurde in dieser Form am Ende des Alten Reichs benutzt[17]. Der Gebrauch dieses Determinativs ging zurück, da das Zeichen *msṯpt* – ein Schlitten, auf dem ein Sarg liegt – an seine Stelle trat. Es ersetzte ersteres bis zum Ende der 11. Dynastie[18].

(h) Der obere Teil vom Zeichen ist verloren gegangen. Es gibt noch Reste vom Schwanz und von den Füßen.

(i) Das Wort *nṯr* erscheint auf Scheintüren, die in die 4.[19], 5. und 6. Dynastie[20] datieren, ohne das Zeichen des Gottes. Das Epitheton des Verstorbenen – *nb jmꜣḫ ḫr nṯr-ꜥꜣ* – war eine verbreitete Bezeichnung auf den Scheintüren aus dem Alten Reich. *Nṯr-ꜥꜣ* war der Titel entweder für den Gott Osiris oder den Gott *Ḫntj-jmntjw*.

(j) Der Name dieser Frau wird auf der anderen Scheintür (CG 1414) aus demselben Grab in Saqqara erwähnt. Sie trug hochrangige Titel des Alten Reichs wie *rḫt-nswt* „die Bekannte des Königs" und *ḥmt-nṯr Ḥt-Ḥr* „Priesterin der Hathor"[21]. Diese Titel zeigen, dass sie religiöse Aufgaben erfüllte.

2.2 Die Scheintür-Tafel

Der Scheintürinhaber Nikaure (Abb. 3) wird vor dem Opfertisch auf einem breiten Sitz ohne Rückenlehne und mit Ochsenbeinen sitzend dargestellt. Er trägt eine lange Perücke, die seine Ohren bedeckt, sowie einen kurzen Schurz, einen Halskragen und Armbän-

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[11] Die Scheintüren aus dem Alten Reich belegen, dass nach der Erwähnung der Opferformel der Name und die Titel des Gottes Anubis aufgelistet werden: *ḥtp-dj-nsw ḥtp-dj-Jnpw tpj ḏw=f jmj-wt nb tꜣ ḏsrt* „Ein Opfer, das der König gibt, ein Opfer, das Anubis, der auf seinem Berg Ruhende, der in der Balsamierungsstadt ist und Herr des heiligen Landes, gibt". Zum Erscheinen dieser Formeln auf den Scheintüren in der 5. Dynastie vergleiche z. B. die Scheintür der *Ꞽḫꜣt* Kairo CG 1414 (L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 82, Bl. 19). Zum Erscheinen dieser Formeln auf den Scheintüren in der 6. Dynastie vergleiche z. B. die Scheintür des *Msnj* (W. K. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 4. Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I, Boston 1980, S. 12, Fig. 18), die Scheintür des *Ꞽr-n-ꜣḫtj* (N. Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara North-West of Teti's Pyramid* I, Sydney 1984, Pl. 27) und die Scheintür des *Ꞽpj* (C. M. Firth/B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I. *Text*, *Excav. Saqq.* 21, 1926, S. 188–189 (18), im Folgenden als C. M. Firth/B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I zitiert).

[12] W. Helck und H. G. Fischer sind sich darin einig, dieses Wort als *sꜣb* „Richter" zu übersetzen (W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, *ÄF* 18, Glückstadt/Hamburg/New York 1954, S. 82 [im Folgenden als W. Helck, *Beamtentitel* zitiert]; H. G. Fischer, *A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty*, in: *JNES* 18, 1959, S. 265), während J. L. De Cenival es lieber wörtlich als „Schakal" übersetzt (J. L. De Cenival, *À propose de la stèle de Chéchi. Étude de quelques types de titulatures privées de l'ancien empire*, in: *RdE* 27, 1975, S. 64).

[13] G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupéstres du Wadi Hammamat*, Paris 1957, S. 55–56, No. 20, pl. 7.

[14] R. Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout*, *Fouilles Saqq.*, Le Caire 1935, S. 15, pl. 7; J. Yoyotte, *Un corps de police dans l'Égypte Pharaonique*, in: *RdE* 9, 1952, S. 145, No. 10. Zum Titel *jrj-mḏꜣt* im Allgemeinen siehe M. Vallogia, *Recherches sur les «messagers» (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*, Geneva 1976, S. 213 und P. Posener-Krieger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai (les papyrus d'Abousir)* II, *BdE* 65, Le Caire 1976, S. 467.

[15] L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 87.

[16] *Loc. cit.*

[17] G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen*, *SDAIK* 21, Mainz 1986, S. 40, Nr. 14.

[18] H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt*, New York 1968, S. 79 (im Folgenden als H. G. Fischer, *Dendera* zitiert).

[19] Vgl. z. B. die Scheintür des *Mdw-nfr*, CG 57123: S. Curto, *Gli scavi italiani a El-Ghiza (1903)*, Roma 1963, fig. 32.

[20] Vgl. z. B. die Scheintür des *Jzj-ꜥnḫ*: S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 2. 1930/31*, Cairo 1936, S. 50–51, Pls. 44–45.

[21] Zum Titel *ḥmt-nṯr Ḥt-Ḥr* „Priesterin der Hathor", siehe A. M. Blackman, *On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy*, in: *JEA* 7, 1921, S. 27.



Abb. 3
Die Scheintür-Tafel des Nikaure
(CG 1416, Foto SAMEH ABD EL-MOHSEN)

der. Er streckt seinen rechten Arm in Richtung des Opfertischs aus, während er seinen linken Arm an seine Brust hält. Dies ist die übliche Szene der Opfermahlzeit. Name und Titel des Verstorbenen sind in einer horizontalen Zeile von rechts nach links geschrieben:

(4)

(4) *sꜣb sḥḏ jrj-mḏꜣt rḫ-nsw*[(a)] *Nj-kꜣw-Rꜥ*

(4) der Richter, der Vorsteher der Boten und Königsbekannte Nikaure.

(a) *rḫ nsw* „Der Bekannte des Königs" – Die ältesten Beispiele für diesen Titel gehen auf die 3. Dynastie zurück. Er gehört zu den sehr verbreiteten Titeln im Alten Reich. Auch im Mittleren Reich haben sowohl Frauen als auch Männer ihn getragen. Die Übersetzung dieses Titels im Mittleren Reich war unproblematisch: Die meisten Forscher neigen dazu, ihn *rḫ nsw* „Bekannter des Königs" oder „der dem König Nahestehende" zu lesen. Wortwörtlich heißt es „Dieser, den der König kennt". Die Übersetzung des Titels im Alten Reich ist umstritten, weil er in den Inschriften aus dieser Zeit manchmal gefolgt vom Symbol oder Wahrzeichen einer Region oder eines Ortes vorkommt. Daher haben Forscher wie B. GUNN[22], W. HELCK[23] oder J. LÓPEZ[24] vorgeschlagen, ihn als *irj ḫt nsw* „der Zuständige für die königlichen Arbeiten" oder „der Beauftragte für die königlichen Arbeiten" in der jeweiligen, nach dem Titel erwähnten Region zu übersetzen. H. G. FISCHER[25] schlug vor, ihn mit dem „Verwalter des Königsvermögens" zu übersetzen. Er ist der Meinung, dass dieser Titel sich auf die Gauverwaltung bezieht, deshalb stellten die oben genannten Wissenschaftler diesen Titel in die Reihe der Titel der Provinzverwaltung. Nach H. BRUNNER sollte der Ausdruck *rḫ nsw* von Anfang an mit dem „Bekannten des König" übersetzt werden[26].

Der Opfertisch vor Nikaure hat die übliche Form. Er besteht aus einem niedrigen Untersatz mit einer Platte darauf, die leicht nach innen gebeugt ist. Darauf sind elf Brote abgebildet, die die Form von Schilfrohr haben. Unter dem Tisch steht ein viereckiges Traggestell, worauf zwei Krüge zu sehen sind, die jeweils in einem Becken stehen[27]. Über dem Opfertisch

[22] C. M. FIRTH/B. GUNN, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I, S. 257, Nr. 1.

[23] W. HELCK, *Beamtentitel*, S. 26–28.

[24] J. LÓPEZ, *Inscriptions de l'Ancien Empire à Khor el-Aquiba*, in: *RdE* 19, 1967, S. 51.

[25] H. G. FISCHER, *Varia, Egyptian Studies* I, New York 1976, S. 8, Nr. 15.

[26] H. BRUNNER, *Der Bekannte des Königs*, in: *SAK* 1, 1974, S. 55–60.

[27] In der zweiten Hälfte der 5. Dynastie sind Becken und der Krug unter dem Opfertisch abgebildet (E. BROVARSKI, *Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period* II, in: D. P. SILVERMAN [ed.], *For His Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 55, Chicago 1994, S. 102). Es handelt sich um die Ausstattung zum Händewaschen, daher stehen diese Objekte unter dem Opfertisch. In den meisten Fällen, in denen

gibt es verschiedene Opfer: Kegelbrote, Gefäße und ein Gestell, auf dem Körbe(?) stehen, während darunter ein Ochsenschenkel liegt. Die Inschrift über dem Opfertisch fasst die Haupttotenopfer für den Verstorbenen zusammen:

(5)

(5) *ḫ3 t ḫ3 ḥnqt ḫ3 ps ḫ3 k3*

(5) Tausend Brote, tausend Biere, tausend *ps*-Brote und tausend Ochsen.

2.3 Der rechte seitliche Schlitz

Auf dem rechten seitlichen Schlitz der Scheintürtafel gibt es eine in die Richtung der Tafel blickende, stehende Gestalt, die *Špss-Ptḥ*, den Sohn des Nikaure, darstellt. Er hält die rechte Hand vor seine Brust, seine linke Hand hält ein Stück gefalteten Stoff. Er hat kurzes Haar und trägt einen Halskragen und einen kurzen Schurz mit einem spitz nach vorn ragenden Teil. Sein Name und seine Titel sind über seinem Kopf angebracht:

(6)

(6) *s3=f s3b sš*[(a)] *Špss-Ptḥ*[28]

(6) Sein Sohn, der Richter und Schreiber *Špss-Ptḥ*.

(a) Mehrere Beamte in Ägypten pflegten ihren Schreibertitel überall zu erwähnen, auch wenn sie die höchsten Ämter bekleidet haben. Der Titel „Schreiber" bezeichnete nicht nur ein Amt, sondern unterschiedliche Ämter, von den einfachen Schreibern (*sš*) in den religiösen Institutionen[29] und den unterschiedlichen Regierungsbezirken bis hin zu den königlichen Schreibern (*sš nsw*). Der Schreiber sollte Buch führen, mathematische Formeln lösen und geometrische Kenntnisse haben[30]. Einige Schreiber konnten dank ihres Amtes eine gut angesehene Stellung in der Gesellschaft einnehmen[31].

2.4 Der linke seitliche Schlitz

Auch auf dem linken seitlichen Schlitz der Scheintürtafel ist eine stehende Gestalt dargestellt, die in Richtung der Tafel blickt, und *Sḫm-k3*(?), einen weiteren Sohn des Nikaure, abbildet. Seine Arme sind entlang seines Körpers ausgestreckt und er hält in seiner rechten Hand ein Stück gefalteten Stoff. Er trägt einen Halskragen und ein kurzes Gewand mit einem spitz nach vorn ragenden Teil. Sein Name und seine Titel sind über seinem Kopf in einer vertikalen Zeile geschrieben:

(7)

(7) *s3=f s3b sš Sḫm-k3*[(a)]

(7) Sein Sohn, der Richter und Schreiber *Sḫm-k3*.

(a) Der Name *Sḫm-k3* wird an der Scheintür der Frau Ihat (CG 1414), der Ehefrau von Nikaure, mit dem Zeichen statt geschrieben. Deshalb kann man ihn als *Sḫm-k3* und nicht als *Sḫm=k* lesen[32].

2.5 Der rechte äußere Türflügel

Es gibt eine vertikale Zeile hieroglyphischer Inschrift, die von links nach rechts folgendermaßen zu lesen ist:

(8)

(8) *ḥtp-dj-nsw ḥtp-dj-Wsjr*[(a)] *nb Ḏdw*[(b)] *prt(.w)-ḫrw t ḥnqt m wpj rnpt*[(c)] *Ḏḥwtjt*[(d)] *tpj rnpt*[(e)] *w3g*[(f)] *ḥb Skr*[(g)] *ḥb rkh wr*[(h)] *prt-Mnw*[(i)] *3bd n S3ḏ*[(j)] *(tpj) 3bd*[(k)] *(tpj) smdt*[(l)] *(m) ḥb nb rʿ nb (n) s3b sḥḏ jrj-mḏ3t Nj-k3w-Rʿ*

(8) Ein Opfer, das der König gibt, Ein Opfer, das Osiris, Herr von Busiris, gibt, damit ein Totenopfer [bestehend aus] Brot und Bier gegeben wird, zum Fest der Eröff-

der Ausguss in der Richtung des Gesichts des Steleninhabers zeigt, werden nach der 6. Dynastie, und besonders in ihre späte Phase, datiert. Siehe z. B. die Scheintür des *Ἰww* (Ch. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686–2040 avant J.-C.*, Paris 1990, S. 58–65), die Scheintür des *Ἰpj* (*ibid.*, S. 66–69) und die Scheintür des *Ἰr-n-3ḫtj* (*ibid.*, S. 70–73).

28 H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 326, 19.

29 G. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roy et Amenhotep*, Paris 1929, S. 41–42.

30 W. C. Hayes, *A Writing-Palette of the Chief Steward Amenhotpe and Some Notes on its Owner*, in: *JEA* 24, 1938, S. 22.

31 J. Černy, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, *BdE* 50, Cairo 1973, S. 191–230.

32 Zu diesem Namen siehe H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 319, 18.

nung des Jahres, zum Thot-Fest, zum Fest des ersten (Tages) des Jahres, zum Sokar-Fest, zum Großen Brand-Fest, zum Fest des Auszugs des Min, zum Monat des Festes *Sꜣḏ*, zum Monatsanfangsfest, zum Halbmonatsfest, (zu) jedem Fest, täglich (für) den Richter und Vorsteher der Boten Nikaure.

(a) Diese Graphie des Wortes Osiris, in der das Zeichen vom Auge über dem Sitz steht und das Zeichen des Gottes auf derselben Höhe wie das Auge dargestellt wird, erscheint auf Scheintüren, die an das Ende der 6. Dynastie datiert werden[33].

(b) „Osiris, Herr von Busiris" – Die Götter, die in der Opferformel erscheinen, werden mit ihren Ortschaften im Verbund genannt. Der Gott Osiris beispielsweise war zuständig für Busiris *Ḏdw* und Abydos *ꜣbḏw*. Der hohe Stellenwert dieser Städte kommt in vielen Passagen der Pyramidentexte zum Ausdruck. Sie bezeichnen *ꜣbḏw* als den Balsamierungsort und Wohnort des Gottes Osiris[34]. Während *ꜣbḏw* die wichtigste Stadt für Osiris besonders im Süden und in Ägypten im Allgemeinen war, war *Ḏdw* seine Stadt im Norden. Einer der wichtigsten Gegenstände, die zu dieser Stadt und zum Gott Osiris gehörten, war der *ḏd*-Pfeiler. Seine Errichtungszeremonie wurde als Symbol für die Auferstehung des Osiris gefeiert[35], denn der *ḏd*-Pfeiler verkörpert diesen Gott. Die Städte Busiris und Abydos waren in den Titeln von Osiris enthalten, da Osiris in der Stadt Busiris im Delta aufwuchs und von dieser Stadt aus sich seine Anbetung in die anderen Provinzen verbreitet hatte. Dort hat Osiris viele Götter ersetzt, die wichtigsten von ihnen waren Sokar in Memphis und Chontamenti in Abydos. Vielleicht war Abydos auch vor Busiris der Hauptsitz von Osiris[36], da es nur einen einzigen Hinweis gibt, der Osiris mit Busiris in Verbindung setzt[37].

(c) *wpj rnpt* „Das Fest zum Eröffnen des Jahres" – In Altägypten gab es verschiedene Feste, einige umfassten das ganze Land, andere wurden nur regional gefeiert. Es gab offizielle, religiöse und Totenfeste. Es gab auch Regionalfeste und Lokalfeste[38]. Das *wpj rnpt*-Fest gehört zu den Himmelsfesten, die mit dem siderischen und dem Mondkalender zusammenhängen. Dieses Fest ist in den Festlisten des Alten Reiches gut bezeugt[39]. Es hing vom Herauskommen der Sothis (*prt spdt*) ab, das den Anfang der Überschwemmung ankündigte. Die alten Ägypter erwarteten sein Erscheinen am östlichen Horizont im Zeitraum vom 17. bis zum 19. Juli[40]. Wenn dieser Stern erschien, wurde der Beginn des Jahres, beziehungsweise „das Eröffnen des Jahres" gefeiert[41].

(d) Das Fest *Ḏḥwtjt* ist in den Festlisten in den Gräbern aus dem Alten Reich überliefert[42]. Es wurde in der altägyptischen Geschichte immer am 19. Thot gefeiert[43]. Es war das Freudenfest, an dem Honig und Feigen gegessen wurden[44].

(e) *tpj rnpt* oder „Erster (Tag) des Jahres" bezeichnete den Tag, der das Jahr eröffnet[45] oder auch den ersten Tag vom ersten Monat der Überschwemmung, denn das neue Jahr beginnt im ägyptischen Kalender, wenn die Überschwemmung die Region *Pr-Ḥꜥpy* (zwischen Heliopolis und Memphis) erreicht. Dieses Fest beginnt in der Nacht vor Beginn des neuen Jahres. Eine Anzahl von Hohepriestern der Göttin Hathor fangen mit Riten (Ordnung der Kronen) an, indem sie der Göttin Hathor acht verschiedene Kronen (von der Achtheit von Hermopolis) geben. Dann wird die Statue der Hathor in ihr Sanktuar auf dem Dach des Tempels gebracht. Die Opfergaben werden um das Sanktuar gelegt. Damit wird beim Sonnenaufgang am ersten Tag des neuen Festes die Vereinigung mit der Sonnenscheibe erreicht[46].

(f) Das *Wꜣg*-Fest ist eines der Totenfeste, die die Ägypter feierten, um ihren Verstorbenen eine gute Reise nach Abydos zu wünschen. Sie legten Modellschiffe in die Gräber für die Flussfahrt nach Abydos. Das *Wꜣg*-Fest ist gut bezeugt in den Festlisten in den

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33 Vgl. z. B. die Scheintür des *Rꜥ-ḥr-kꜣ-jpj* (G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi* II, Le Caire 1929, S. 121–125, pl. 138) und die Scheintür California Univ. Mus. Nr. 6-19830 (H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones of Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of University of California*, Leipzig 1927, S. 2, Pl. 9 [17]).

34 *Pyr.* 1122, 1260–1261.

35 R. T. R. Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, London 1978, S. 235–237.

36 J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris*, *MÄS* 9, Berlin 1966, S. 85–98.

37 *Pyr.* 2010.

38 H. Altenmüller, in: *LÄ* II, Sp. 171–191; K. A. Kitchen, in: *LÄ* II, Sp. 191–192.

39 S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* 10, Mainz 1950, S. 79 Nr. 1.

40 L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung*, Kairo 1935, S. 10–12.

41 H. Altenmüller, in: *LÄ* II, Sp. 172; R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, Chicago 1950, S. 33–34, § 164–165 (im Folgenden als R. A. Parker, *Calendars* zitiert).

42 R. A. Parker, *Calendars*, S. 35, § 176; W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Opferformel*, *ÄF* 24, Glückstadt 1968, S. 10.

43 G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939*, Hildesheim 1959, Taf. 6.

44 H. Altenmüller, in: *LÄ* II, Sp. 174.

45 *Ibid.*, Sp. 172.

46 R. A. Parker, *Calendars*, S. 31–57.

Gräbern aus dem Alten Reich[47]. Im Mittleren Reich wurde dieses Fest am 18. Thot gefeiert, obwohl die Feierlichkeiten schon am Abend des 17. Thots begannen[48]. Die Zeremonien dieses Festes, die auf das Mittlere Reich zurückgehen, erscheinen im Grab des Herrschers von Assiut *Ḥꜥpi-Ḏf3j*. Die Vorlesepriester geben am 17. Thot (am Vorabend des *W3g*-Festes) der Statue des Verstorbenen ein Weißbrot. Sie beten für den Verstorbenen und zünden für ihn Fackeln an. Am Tag des *W3g*-Festes selbst bringen die Priester der Statue des Verstorbenen große Mengen an Weißbrot[49] dar.

(g) *ḥb Skr*, das „Sokar-Fest" war eines der wichtigsten Götterfeste in Altägypten. Die Ägypter haben es seit dem Anfang der historischen Epochen bis zur Griechischen Zeit gefeiert. Das Hauptziel dieses Festes ist wahrscheinlich die Erneuerung der Macht des Gottes Sokar-Osiris sowie die Auferstehung, die Wiedergeburt und die Erneuerung der Fruchtbarkeit[50]. Es scheint eine Beziehung zwischen dem Sokar-Fest und der Entscheidung, es im vierten Monat der Jahreszeit *3ḫt* zu feiern, zu geben: Dieser Monat war besonders wichtig, weil er im Zusammenhang mit dem Beginn der Arbeit in den Feldern – dem Pflügen und der Aussaat – steht, und der Gott Sokar mit der Fruchtbarkeit und dem Ackerboden verbunden war.
Ein Abschnitt des Totenbuchs weist auf das Aussäen und Pflügen des Ackerbodens hin, wenn Sokar aufsteht[51]. Die Festlisten in den Privatgräbern im Alten Reich zeigen, dass dieses Fest am 25. Choiak gefeiert wurde. Im Neuen Reich wurde dieses Fest zehn Tage lang gefeiert – vom 20. bis zum 30. Choiak[52], wie zum Beispiel die Festliste von Medinet Habu zeigt[53]. Die Riten dieses Festes[54] kann man wie folgt zusammenfassen:
- Am 22. Choiak ist das „Erdaufhacken" (*ḥbs t3*).
- Am 25. Choiak ist das „Göttinnen-Fest" (*nṯrjt*) und die Zwiebelbündel wurden um die Hälse gebunden[55].
- Am 26. Choiak wurde der Gott Sokar selbst gefeiert und man brachte ihm die Opfergaben.
- Am 30. Choiak wurde der „Djed-Pfeiler" errichtet (*sꜥḥꜥ ḏd*)[56].

(h) *ḥb rkh wr* „Großes Brand-Fest" – Dieses Fest erscheint in den Festlisten des Alten Reichs. Seine Riten sind unbekannt. In der Frühen Zeit unterschied man zwischen zwei Brand-Festen, dem Großen Brand-Fest am 1. Phamenoth und dem Kleinen Brand-Fest am 1. Pharmuthi[57]. Das Große Brand-Fest ist ein Lokalfest im Alten Reich, das man in Memphis für den Gott Ptah feierte[58].

(i) Das Fest *prt-Mnw* ist in den Festlisten des Alten Reichs aufgelistet[59]. Es heißt wortwörtlich „der Auszug des Min" und gehört zu den ältesten Festen, dessen Einzelzüge in der Zeit vor dem Neuen Reich nicht vollständig klar sind. A. McFarlane[60] meint, dass das *prt-Mnw*-Fest ein Erntefest war, das man jährlich an einem Tag des ersten Sommerfestes (*šmw*) feierte. H. Jacobsohn[61] vermutet indes, dass dieses Fest die Göttlichkeit – symbolisiert durch den Gott Min mit seinem Phallus als Gott der Felder, der für die Ernte verantwortlich war – und das Königtum – symbolisiert im König als Herrscher des Landes – preist. Beides soll die Fruchtbarkeit verkörpern. Die Riten dieses Festes kann man in zwei Ereignissen zusammenfassen: Die Min-Prozession, in der er auf den Schultern oder auf einer Trage getragen wird, und das Darbringen der Opfergaben und der Ähre[62].

(j) Auf das Min-Fest folgt in den Listen des Alten Reichs das *S3ḏ*-Fest[63]. Vielleicht sind die Festriten des Monats Athyr (*šmw*) und das „Grünen Lassen" (*swḏ3*) der Natur mit dem *S3ḏ*-Fest zu verbinden, das im Festkalender des Niuserre am Beginn des Jahres steht[64].

(k) *tpj 3bd* „Monatsanfangsfest" ist ein altes Fest, das am Anfang eines jeden Monats gefeiert wird. Es ist ein Fest nach dem lunaren Kalender[65].

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[47] *Ibid.*, § 176.

[48] S. Schott, *op. cit.*, S. 81, Nr. 17, 18; S. 82, Nr. 21, 22.

[49] C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals. Enactments of Religious Renewal*, Leiden 1967, S. 134–138 (im Folgenden als C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* zitiert).

[50] G. A. Gaballa/K. A. Kitchen, *The Festival of Sokar*, in: *Orientalia* 38, 1969, S. 1–76; C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, S. 51–52.

[51] G. A. Gaballa/K. A. Kitchen, *op. cit.*, S. 1–76.

[52] P. Posener-Krieger/J. L. De Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* 5, London 1968, Pl. XIII; H. Altenmüller, in: *LÄ* II, Sp. 175.

[53] The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* III. *The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse", and Minor Records of Ramses III*, *OIP* 23, Chicago 1934, 160, Liste 47, Z. 1025–1107.

[54] C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, S. 82–85; G. A. Gaballa/K. A. Kitchen, *op. cit.*, S. 48–52.

[55] S. Schott, *op. cit.*, S. 91, Nr. 69–72.

[56] H. Altenmüller, in: *LÄ* II, Sp. 176.

[57] L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung*, Kairo 1935, S. 56.

[58] H. Altenmüller, in: *LÄ* II, Sp. 177.

[59] H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, *RAPH* 2, Le Caire 1931, S. 21–22.

[60] A. McFarlane, *The God Min to the End of the Old Kingdom*, Sydney 1995, S. 198.

[61] H. Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter*, *ÄF* 8, Glückstadt 1955, S. 29–30.

[62] H. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, S. 109–128.

[63] R. A. Parker, *Calendars*, S. 35, § 176.

[64] F. W. von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures)* III. *Die große Festdarstellung*, Leipzig 1928, Bl. 30, Frg. 462.

[65] H. Altenmüller, in: *LÄ* II, Sp. 173.

(l) Das Fest des „Halbmonatsanfangs" ist *tpj smdt*. Es ist ein altes Fest des Mondmonats, das in der Monatsmitte gefeiert wird[66].

2.6 Der linke äußere Türflügel

Die Titel des Beamten Nikaure sind auf diesem Flügel in einer vertikalen Zeile von rechts nach links geschrieben:

(9)

(9) *ḥtp-dj-nswt ḥtp-dj-Jnpw*[(a)] *jmj-wt*[(b)] *ḫntj sḥ-nṯr qrs*[(c)]*(.tw=f) m smjjt jmntt (m) jꜣw nfr wrt nb jmꜣḫ ḫr nṯr ꜥꜣ ḥm-nṯr Rꜥ Ḥt-Ḥr m st-jb-Rꜥ*[(d)] *wꜥb nsw*[(e)] *Nj-kꜣw-Rꜥ*

(9) Ein Opfer, das der König gibt, ein Opfer, das Anubis, der in der Balsamierungsstadt ist, der vor der Gotteshalle ist, gibt, damit er in der Nekropole nach einem langen und guten Leben begraben wird, dem Versorgten bei dem großen Gott, dem Priester des Re, Priester der Hathor in Set-ib-Re und Wab-Priester des Königs Nikaure.

(a) Die Darstellung des Gottes Anubis allein ist ein Merkmal von Scheintüren aus der Zeit der 4.[67], 5.[68] und dem Anfang der 6. Dynastie[69].

(b) Die Graphie von *jmj-wt* mit dem Stadtdeterminativ ist charakteristisch für das Alte Reich, die ohne Determinativ der Stadt für spätere Zeiten[70].

(c) Das Erscheinen des Zeichens nach dem Zeichen *qrs* ist charakteristisch für das Ende des Alten Reiches[71].

(d) *ḥm-nṯr Rꜥ Ḥt-Ḥr m st-jb-Rꜥ* „Priester des Re, Priester der Hathor in Set-ib-Re": Die klarste Beziehung zwischen Hathor und der Sonnenreligion erscheint in ihrer Beziehung zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie. Es gibt viele Anzeichen für die Beziehung zwischen Hathor und Re in den Sonnentempeln dieser Zeit. Das wichtigste ist das Erscheinen der Titel von Priestern der Sonnentempel, die Re und Hathor gleichzeitig verbinden[72]. Zu diesen Titeln gehört der Titel „Priester des Re und der Hathor an der Stelle des Herzens des Re", dies ist auch der Name des Sonnentempels für Neferirkare. Zwei weitere Priester trugen denselben Titel. Einer von ihnen wird in der Zeit von Neferirkare und der zweite in die Zeit von Niuserre datiert[73].

(e) *wꜥb nsw* „Wab-Priester des Königs": Diese Priester übten bestimmte Berufe aus, die mit der Reinigung im Tempel zusammenhingen. Das Determinativ dieses Wortes bestätigt dies, denn es zeigt einen Krug, aus dem Wasser fließt[74]. Die Wab-Priester waren nicht in Gruppen organisiert und sie entnahmen ihre Speisen den Außenräumen des Tempels im Gegensatz zu den *ḥmw-nṯr* „Gottesdienern", die ihre Speisen der Hauptopferhalle entnahmen. Das beweist, dass die Wab-Priester einer niedrigeren Priesterstufe angehörten, die unter einem Aufseher mit dem Titel *sḥḏ-wꜥbw* standen[75]. Die Verbindung zwischen diesen Priestern und dem Totenkult der Könige wird durch ihre Titel klar, denn einige von ihnen trugen den Titel des „Wab-Priesters des Königs", wie es bei Nikaure der Fall war, oder den Titel des „Wab-Priesters der Mutter des Königs"[76].

2.7 Der untere Sturzbalken

Es gibt zwei horizontale Zeilen mit Inschriften, die von rechts nach links geschrieben sind und sich folgendermaßen lesen lassen:

(10)

(11)

[66] *Loc. cit.*

[67] Vergleiche z. B. die Scheintür des *ꜥnḫ-jrs* CG 57189: S. Curto, *Gli scavi italiani a El-Ghiza (1903)*, Roma 1963, fig. 33; N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom. Evidence on its Economic Decline*, Warminster 1977, S. 153, Nr. 39.

[68] Siehe z. B. die Scheintür des *Wr-jr.n Ptḥ*: Brit. Mus. 718: T. G. H. James (Hrsg.), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum* I, London 1961, Pl. 31 (Nr. 80).

[69] Vergleiche z. B. die Scheintür des *Mrrj* (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938. 3. Mastabas of Princess Hemet-Ra and Others*, Cairo 1975, S. 27, Fig. 171 a–b), die Scheintür der *Nfrt* (Id., *Excavations at Giza 4. 1932/33* [3], Cairo 1943, S. 221–222, Fig. 218) und die Scheintür des *Ḫnmw* (Id., *Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938. 2. Mastabas of Ny-ankh-Pepy and Others*, Cairo 1975, S. 72–73 [1], Fig. 20).

[70] H. G. Fischer, *Dendera*, S. 84.

[71] W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Opferformel*, *ÄF* 24, Glückstadt 1968, S. 9.

[72] S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)*, *MÄS* 4, Berlin 1963, S. 7–9 (im Folgenden als S. Allam, *Hathorkult* zitiert).

[73] *Ibid.*, S. 7.

[74] Gardiner, *EG*, sign list, A 6.

[75] W. Helck, in: *LÄ* IV, Sp. 1086.

[76] Wie zum Beispiel der Beamte *Rwḏ* aus der 6. Dynastie: PM III[2], S. 98.

(10) *ḥm-nṯr Rꜥ ḥm-nṯr Ḥt-Ḥr wꜥb nsw rḫ-nsw nb jmꜣḫ Nj-kꜣw-Rꜥ*
(11) *sꜣb sḥḏ jrj-mḏꜣt ḥrj sštꜣ n Ḥwt-wrt*[(a)] *ḥm-nṯr Mꜣꜥt*[(b)] *Nj-kꜣw-Rꜥ*

(10) Priester des Re, Priester der Hathor, Wab-Priester des Königs, Bekannter des Königs, der Versorgte Nikaure. (11) Richter, Vorsteher der Boten, Geheimrat des Gerichtshofes und Priester der Maat Nikaure.

(a) *ḥrj sštꜣ n Ḥwt-wrt* „Geheimrat des Gerichtshofes": Dieser Titel zeigt die Natur dieses Berufs. Die Träger dieses Titels sollten die Geheimnisse bewahren und sie nicht verraten[77]. Der Titel war verbreitet in der Gerichtsverwaltung. J. PIRENNE[78] weist darauf hin, dass dieses Gericht *Ḥwt-wrt* erst in der 4. Dynastie genannt wird: *Ꜣḫt-ḥtp* hatte den Titel *ḥrj sštꜣ n nsw m Ḥwt-wrt* „Königlicher Geheimrat im Gerichtshof des Palastes" inne. Das zeigt, dass das große Gericht im königlichen Palast war, wo zugleich die Staatsverwaltung saß. Mitglieder dieses Gerichts wurden vom König direkt ernannt, damit sie in seinem Namen handeln[79]. Nikaure war einer der Beamten, die den Titel „Geheimrat des Gerichtshofes" trugen[80].

(b) *ḥm-nṯr Mꜣꜥt* „Priester der Maat" ist ein Gerichtstitel, den viele Beamten in der Gerichtsverwaltung im Alten Reich trugen[81]. Die meisten, die diesen Titel trugen, arbeiteten in erster Linie im Gericht und in den Gerichtshöfen, denn einige von ihnen trugen Titel wie „Gerichtsvorsteher"[82] und „Geheimrat des Gerichts"[83]. Seit der 5. Dynastie trugen diesen Titel auch Minister[84]. Die Beziehung zwischen diesem Gerichtstitel und der Göttin Maat ist darauf zurückzuführen, dass Maat die Göttin des Rechts und der Gerechtigkeit in Altägypten war. Sie war die geistige und materielle Verkörperung des Gesetzes, für das universale System und für die Gerechtigkeit: Das waren die Werte, die der König auf Erden realisieren sollte[85]. Zu den Aufgaben des Pharaos gehörte der Ritus, bei dem er dem größten aller Götter eine Statue der Göttin Maat als Opfergabe vorlegte. Das war der Ausdruck dafür, dass er auf die Realisierung der Gerechtigkeit unter den Menschen achtet. Die Darreichung der Maat-Statue als Opfergabe ist zu einem typischen Verehrungskult geworden[86].

2.8 Der rechte innere Türflügel

In der Mitte des Flügels (Abb. 4) steht eine Gestalt von Nikaure, die in der Richtung der Zentralnische blickt und in traditioneller Pose dargestellt ist. Er sieht nach Innen in der Richtung des Türeingangs und hält einen langen Stab in der einen Hand und ein Stück zusammengefalteten Stoff in der anderen. Er trägt eine lange Perücke und einen kurzen Bart. Er trägt einen kurzen Schurz mit einem spitz nach vorn ragenden Teil.

Auf der oberen Hälfte des Flügels befindet sich eine dreikolumnige Inschrift:

(12)

(13)

(14)

(12) *ḥm-nṯr Rꜥ ḥm-nṯr Ḥt-Ḥr wꜥb nsw Nj-kꜣw-Rꜥ*
(13) *sꜣb sḥḏ jrj-mḏꜣt ḥrj sštꜣ Nj-kꜣw-Rꜥ*
(14) *sꜣb jrj-Nḫn*[(a)] *ḥm-nṯr Mꜣꜥt Nj-kꜣw-Rꜥ*

(12) Priester des Re, Priester der Hathor und Wab-Priester des Königs Nikaure. (13) Richter, Vorsteher der Boten und Geheimrat Nikaure. (14) Richter, Gesandter von Hierakonpolis und Priester der Maat Nikaure.

(a) *sꜣb jrj-Nḫn* – Die Lesung dieses Titels ist umstritten. P. VERNUS[87] liest ihn als *sꜣb jrj-Nḫn* „Richter,

[77] W. HELCK, *Beamtentitel*, S. 44.
[78] J. PIRENNE, *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Égypte*, Bruxelles 1932, S. 275.
[79] *Ibid.*, S. 267.
[80] Diesen Titel trugen im Alten Reich beispielsweise *Wr-ḏdw-Ptḥ* und *Kꜣ-m-nfrt*, siehe W. HELCK, *Beamtentitel*, S. 44 und Anm. 131.
[81] *Ibid.*, S. 74.
[82] Siehe zum Beispiel die Titel der Beamten *ꜥnḫ-m-ꜥ-kꜣ* (A. MARIETTE, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris 1889, D 16; W. HELCK, *Beamtentitel*, S. 74 und Anm. 53), *Sḫm-ꜥnḫ-Ptḥ* (A. MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, D 41), *Ḥtp-Ptḥ* (*ibid.*, D 64) und *Wr-Rꜥ* (H. JUNKER, *Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza* III. *Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*, *DAWW* 69, 1, Wien 1938, S. 223).
[83] Siehe zum Beispiel die Titel der Beamten *Nnkj* (*Urk.* I, S. 260) und *Wr-ḏd-Ptḥ* (J. E. QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1912)*, S. 157–158).
[84] W. HELCK, *Beamtentitel*, S. 74.
[85] J. ASSMANN, *Maat und die gespaltene Welt oder: Ägyptertum und Pessimismus*, in: *GM* 140, 1994, S. 93–100.
[86] A. MORET, *La doctrine de Maât*, in: *RdE* 4, 1940, S. 6.
[87] P. VERNUS, *Une formule des shaoubtis sur un pseudo-naos de la XIIIe dynastie*, in: *RdE* 26, 1974, S. 104.



Abb. 4 Der rechte innere Türflügel der Scheintür des Nikaure (CG 1416, Foto SAMEH ABD EL-MOHSEN)

Gesandter von Hierakonpolis". Auch W. WARD[88] liest ihn als *s3b jrj-Nḫn*. Jedoch übersetzt er den Titel mit „Senior, Wächter von Hierakonpolis". Andere, wie H. G. FISCHER[89], D. FRANKE[90], D. JONES[91] und ST. QUIRKE[92] übersetzen den Titel mit *s3b r3-Nḫn* „Richter und Mund von Hierakonpolis". Dies beruht auf dem vertikalen Strich unter dem Mund in der Graphie dieses Titels seit dem Mittleren Reich. Eine dritte Gruppe von Wissenschaftlern[93] liest ihn als *r3-Nḫn n s3b* „Mund von Hierakonpolis, Zugehöriger des Schakals". Die Urkunden von Abusir berichten über diesen Titel im Alten Reich, den Assistenten von Ministern trugen. Das zeigt die Wichtigkeit dieser Persönlichkeit[94]. Nach P. VERNUS[95] war dieser Titel ein Ehrentitel, der am Anfang der 12. Dynastie verschwand und gegen Ende derselben Dynastie zurückkehrte und einen Gerichtsberuf bezeichnete. D. FRANKE[96] meint, dass dieser Titel am Ende des Mittleren Reichs in Zusammenhang mit dem Palast stand. Die Träger dieses Titels handelten als Mittler zwischen dem König und den Regierungen in den Provinzen.

Auf der unteren Hälfte des Flügels gibt es sechs opfernde Personen, die in zwei Reihen stehen. In jeder Reihe stehen drei von ihnen, alle nach links orientiert. Jeder von ihnen ist mit kurzem Haar und einem kurzen Schurz dargestellt. Der erste Opferträger in der ersten Reihe trägt in beiden Händen Bänder aus Stoff, der zweite bietet einen Opfertisch dar, während der dritte einen Krug vorlegt. In der zweiten Reihe trägt die erste Person, die in die Richtung der Zentralnische blickt, ein Kalb, die zweite Person legt einen verschlossenen Krug dar, während die dritte Person in der rechten Hand einen kleinen Opfertisch trägt, worauf Opfergaben liegen. In der linken Hand hält sie einen Krug.

2.9 Der linke innere Türflügel (Abb. 5)

Auf der unteren Hälfte des Flügels gibt es zwei Figuren, Nikaure und seinen Sohn darstellend, die in Richtung der Zentralnische blicken. Über jeder Gestalt gibt es eine Inschrift, die die Person identifiziert. Die In-

[88] W. WARD, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut 1982, S. 147.

[89] H. G. FISCHER, *Varia Nova*, *Egyptian Studies* III, New York 1996, S. 44 und S. 254.

[90] D. FRANKE, *Ursprung und Bedeutung der Titelsequenz Z3b R3-Nḫn*, in: *SAK* 11, 1984, S. 209–217.

[91] D. JONES, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, *BARIntSer* 866, Oxford 2000, S. 808.

[92] ST. QUIRKE, *Titles and Bureaux, of Egypt 1850–1700 BC*, *Egyptology* 1, London 2004, S. 89.

[93] V. G. CALLENDER, *À propos the Title of r Nḫn n z3b*, in: M. BÁRTA/J. KREJČÍ (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, *Archiv orientální Supplementa* 9, Praha 2000, S. 361–380.

[94] P. POSENER-KRIEGER, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Neferirkare-Kakai. Les papyrus d'Abousir* II, *BdE* 65, Le Caire 1976, S. 590; W. HELCK, *Beamtentitel*, S. 23 und S. 73–74.

[95] P. VERNUS, in: *RdE* 26, 1974, S. 109.

[96] D. FRANKE, in: *SAK* 11, 1984, S. 215–217.

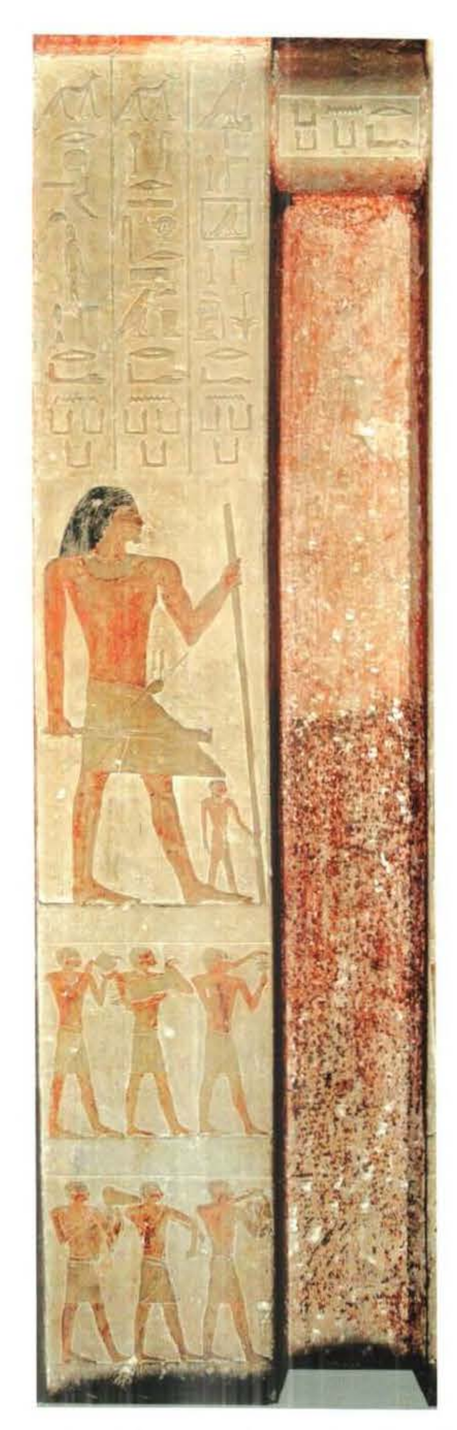


Abb. 5 Der linke innere Türflügel der Scheintür des Nikaure (CG 1416, Foto SAMEH ABD EL-MOHSEN)

schrift für Nikaure steht in drei Kolumnen von rechts nach links. Die Inschrift für seinen Sohn steht in zwei horizontalen Zeilen in der Leerstelle zwischen der Gestalt von Nikaure und dem langen Stab, den er hält. Beide sind heute zum großen Teil zerstört.

Nikaures Position ist auf den Eingang ausgerichtet, ähnlich wie seine Darstellung auf dem rechten Flügel. Der einzige Unterschied ist, dass er hier ein Szepter anstelle des Stoffstücks in der rechten Hand hält. Die Inschrift über seinem Kopf ist ein Spiegelbild der Inschrift auf dem inneren rechten Flügel. Sie lässt sich folgendermaßen lesen:

(15)

(16)

(17)

(15) *ḥm-nṯr Rꜥ ḥm-nṯr Ḥt-Ḥr wꜥb nsw Nj-k3w-Rꜥ*
(16) *s3b sḥḏ jrj-mḏ3t ḥrj sšt3 Nj-k3w-Rꜥ*
(17) *s3b jrj-Nḫn ḥm-nṯr M3ꜥt Nj-k3w-Rꜥ*

(15) Priester des Re, Priester der Hathor und Wab-Priester des Königs Nikaure. (16) Richter, Vorsteher der Boten und Geheimrat Nikaure. (17) Richter, Gesandter von Hierakonpolis und Priester der Maat Nikaure.

Es gibt eine kleine Gestalt eines Knaben vor Nikaure. Dieser ist mit kurzem Haar und einem Kinderzopf dargestellt. Er trägt einen Halskragen und hält in der linken Hand den Stab seines Vaters. Die Inschrift, die seinen Namen und Titel erklärt, ist zum großen Teil zerstört. Was wir davon lesen können, ist Folgendes:

(18)

(19)

(18) [*s3=f*] *mrjj*
(19) [=*f*] [...]?[(a)]

(18) [Sein] geliebter [Sohn] (19) [...]?

(a) In den Szenen der Scheintür CG 1414 für seine Frau Ihat stehen die fünf Namen der Söhne von Nikaure. Neben den beiden auf der Scheintür dargestellten Söhnen *Špss-Ptḥ* und *Sḫm-k3* werden drei weitere Söhne genannt: *W3š-Ptḥ*, *Snḏm-jb* und *ꜥnḫ-jr-Ptḥ*[97]. Daher ist die Wahl eines der drei Namen für die Rekonstruktion des zerstörten Namens des Sohnes sehr schwierig und kaum vertretbar.

[97] L. BORCHARDT, *Denkmäler* I, S. 81 und S. 84

Auf der unteren Hälfte des Flügels gibt es Darstellungen der Träger mit den typischen Opfergaben. Sechs Männer stehen in zwei Reihen und wenden sich nach rechts. Jeder von ihnen hat kurzes Haar und ist mit einem kurzen Schurz bekleidet. Der erste Opferträger in der oberen Reihe trägt ein Räuchergefäß, der Mann in der Mitte hält einen Vogel in seinen Händen und hinter ihm steht der dritte Mann, der ein Waschgefäß trägt. Der erste Mann in der zweiten Reihe hält einen Vogel an seinem Hals und seinen Flügeln, der zweite Mann trägt ein Rinderschenkel auf den Schultern, während der dritte Mann hinter ihm Fleischstücke(?) in beiden Händen hält.

2.10 Die Türtrommel

Auf der Türtrommel steht eine Inschrift in einer Zeile, die von rechts gelesen wird. Sie lässt sich folgendermaßen lesen:

(20)

(20) *Nj-k3w-Rʿ*

(20) Nikaure

3. Schlussbetrachtungen

Der Typ dieser Scheintür ist seit der 5. Dynastie verbreitet. Es handelt sich bei diesem Typ um Türen, die aus vier Sturzbalken bestanden. Der obere Teil stützt sich auf den äußeren Sturzbalken und der untere auf den inneren Sturzbalken. Es gibt dicke Linien, die den oberen Teil von den äußeren Sturzbalken trennen[98]. Die Opferstele ist viereckig mit zwei kompletten Löchern. Dieser Typ von Türen wurde in vielen Gräbern in Saqqara gefunden[99]. Die vorgeschlagene Datierung dieser Tür in die 5. Dynastie wird durch die Nennung des Sonnentempels von Neferirkare (*st-jb-Rʿ*) auf dem linken Sturzbalken bestätigt. Des Weiteren zeigen die Graphien auf dieser Scheintür die Merkmale des Alten Reichs:

- Die Vollform des Wortes *ḥtp* in den Opferformeln für den Gott Anubis.
- Die Graphie des Wortes Osiris, in der das Augenzeichen über dem Sitz steht und die Darstellung des Beiwortes des Gottes auf derselben Höhe wie das Auge erscheinen auf Scheintüren, die an das Ende der 6. Dynastie bzw. in die Zeit Pepis II. datiert werden.
- Die Schreibung des Wortes *Jnpw* alleine erscheint auf Türen, die in die 4., 5. und den Anfang der 6. Dynastie datiert werden.
- Die Schreibung des Wortes *nṯr* ohne das Determinativ des Gottes im Titel *nṯr ʿ3* wird an den Anfang der 5. Dynastie datiert.
- Das Erscheinen des Determinativs für die Stadt im Wort *Ḏdw*, das mit einem fast vertikalen Kreuz geschrieben wird[100], ist ein Merkmal für Scheintüren ab der 6. Dynastie.
- Die Schreibung des Wortes *qrst* wird auf das Ende des Alten Reichs datiert[101].

Davon ausgehend wird vorgeschlagen, die hier behandelte Scheintür in die Zeit des Neferirkare oder in eine spätere Phase zu datieren.

Die Bedeutung dieser Scheintür liegt darin, dass sie alle Titel Nikaures sowie seine letzten Ämter nennt, während die andere Scheintür von ihm und seiner Frau Ihat (CG 1414), die aus demselben Grab in Saqqara kommt, seine letzten Ämter nicht erwähnt, zum Beispiel *s3b jrj-Nḫn, ḥrj sšt3 n Ḥwt-wrt, ḥm-nṯr M3ʿt*, und *ḥm-nṯr Rʿ Ḥt-Ḥr m st-jb-Rʿ*. Allein die Scheintür, die wir hier behandeln, erwähnt diese Ämter.

Die Titel des Beamten Nikaure zeigen, dass er zu den Beamten gehörte, die ihre berufliche Laufbahn in der Gerichtsverwaltung (im großen Gerichtshof *Ḥwt-wrt*) angefangen haben. J. Pirenne weist darauf hin, dass sich dieses Gericht seit der 4. Dynastie im Palast befand.

Die Behandlung der Titel dieses Beamten zeigt, dass der Schreibertitel *sḥḏ jrj-mḏ3t* wahrscheinlich in Verbindung mit der Verwaltung des Großen Gerichts *Ḥwt-wrt* stand, das sein Hauptarbeitsbereich war. Dieser Titel bezeichnete wahrscheinlich die Arbeit im Archiv des Großen Gerichts, wo die Gesetze aufbewahrt wurden. Seine Tätigkeit war die Überprüfung der Dokumente und die offizielle Registrierung der Gerichtsprozesse. Dieser Titel kann die erste Stufe in seiner beruflichen Karriere sein, bevor er zum *ḥrj sšt3 n Ḥwt-wrt* „Geheimrat des Gerichtshofs" befördert wurde.

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[98] J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* II, Paris 1954, S. 401–402, S. 411 und fig. 279. Vergleiche z. B. die Scheintür der *Jḥ3t*: CG 1414 (L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 82, Bl. 19).

[99] Vergleiche z. B. die Scheintür der *Jḥ3t*: CG 1414 (L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 80–84, Bl. 19), die Scheintür der *Nwb-ḥtp*: CG 1415 (*ibid.*, S. 84–87, Bl. 19) und die Scheintür des *Ḥm-Mjn*: CG 1417 (*ibid.*, S. 89–91).

[100] H. G. Fischer, *Dendera*, S. 78–79.

[101] J. Pirenne, *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'ancienne Égypte*, Bruxelles 1932, S. 275.

Die Erfahrung, die Nikaure im Gerichtswesen sammelte, haben es ihm wohl ermöglicht, ein wichtiges Amt im Gericht zu bekleiden, nämlich das des *s3b* „Richters", danach wurde er zum *s3b jrj-Nḫn* befördert. J. PIRENNE vertritt die Meinung, dass diejenigen, die diesen Beruf ausübten, einen der sechs Gerichtshöfe betreuten. Diese Ansicht beruht auf der Biografie von *Wnjj*, den König Pepi I. beauftragte, in der Verschwörung der königlichen Frauen gegen die große bevorzugte Königsgemahlin zu ermitteln. In seiner Biografie steht: „Ich habe selber das Protokoll geschrieben. Keiner war daran beteiligt, außer einem der gesandten Beamten in Hierakonpolis (*s3b jrj-Nḫn*)"[102].

Es verdient hier erwähnt zu werden, dass mit dem Beginn der 5. Dynastie das Große Gericht als *Ḥwt-wrt ssw* „die sechs Großen Gerichtshöfe" bezeichnet wurde[103]. N. STRUDWICK[104] sieht den Grund für diese Bezeichnung (6 Höfe) darin, dass das Gericht aus sechs Mitgliedern bestand, die die Aufgabe der höchsten Aufsicht hatten. Das spricht aber nicht dagegen, dass es auch aus sechs Sälen oder sechs Gerichtskreisen bestand. W. HELCK[105] meint, dass jeder der sechs Gerichtshöfe von einem der *jmj-r3 ḥwt-wrt* geleitet wurde, und das ist die überwiegende Meinung. Daraus kann man schließen, dass die Hauptaufgabe des Titels *s3b jrj-Nḫn* auf die Organisierung der Arbeit und auf Sekretariatstätigkeiten beschränkt war. Er durfte keine Leitungsämter im *Ḥwt-wrt* (Großen Gericht) antreten[106]. Darüber hinaus war er ein Verwaltungsbeamter, der dem Minister bei seinen Aufgaben half, sowie der Mittler zwischen dem König und der Provinzregierung. Das zeigt, dass man im alten Ägypten zwischen der juristischen Gewalt und den anderen Regierungsorganen nicht unterschied, denn der Beamte in irgendeinem Verwaltungsorgan konnte neben seinem Hauptberuf auch als Richter arbeiten.

Andere religiöse Titel standen in Beziehung zum Beruf dieses Beamten und zeigen, dass er Ämter im Priesterdienst in den Tempeln oder beim Opfergabendienst bekleidete. Beim Beamten Nikaure werden viele Priestertitel aufgeführt, zum Beispiel *wˁb* „Wab-Priester" und *ḥm-nṯr M3ˁt* „Priester der Maat". Wahrscheinlich begann dieser Beamte seine priesterliche Karriere als einfacher Wab-Priester. Sein zweiter Titel war ein Richtertitel im Alten Reich. Die Beziehung zwischen dem Gerichtswesen und der Göttin Maat liegt auf der Hand, denn die Göttin Maat symbolisierte das Gesetz, die Ordnung und die Gerechtigkeit. DIODOR erwähnt, dass die Richter im Neuen Reich um ihren Hals eine goldene Kette zu hängen pflegten, an der eine aus einem teuren Stein gemachte Statue der Göttin Maat hing, die die Augen schließt, um nur die Gerechtigkeit zu sehen[107].

Es gibt andere Berufe, die zeigen, dass Nikaure andere Priesterrollen innehatte, die ihn mit königlichen Institutionen verbanden. So trug der Beamte Nikaure den Titel *ḥm-nṯr Rˁ Ḥt-Ḥr m st-jb-Rˁ* „Priester des Re, Priester der Hathor in Set-ib-Re". Dieser Titel beweist, dass er zu den Priestern zählte, die für die Riten für die Götter Re und Hathor im Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Neferirkare in Abu Ghorab verantwortlich waren.

Wie schon erwähnt wurde, gab es eine Beziehung zwischen Hathor und der Sonnenreligion in der 5. Dynastie. Die Annalen von Sahure[108] weisen auf besondere Riten für Hathor in den Sonnenheiligtümern. Der König widmete ihr Opfergaben für die täglichen Riten. Ein kleiner Altar wurde nördlich des großen Altars im Sonnentempel des Niuserre gefunden, deshalb glaubt L. BORCHARDT[109], dass er für die Anbetung von Hathor neben Re im Sonnentempel vorgesehen war. S. ALLAM[110] schließt daraus, dass es in der 5. Dynastie eine heliopolitanische Hathor gab, die Gemahlin des Re und neben ihm eine Göttin in der Hauptreligion des Landes war. H. G. FISCHER[111] neigt dazu, die Beziehung zwischen Hathor und Re in den Sonnenheiligtümern in Abu Ghorab als eheliche Beziehung zu interpretieren.

Es hat sich gezeigt, dass die Gerichtsverwaltung der Hauptarbeitsbereich der Familie des Nikaure war. Familienmitglieder bekleideten verschiedene Ämter. Wir erfahren aus den Titeln seiner beiden Söhne *Sḫm-k3* und *Špss-Ptḥ*, die auf seiner Scheintür dargestellt sind, dass jeder von ihnen vom *sš* „Schreiber" bis zum *s3b* „Richter" aufgestiegen ist. Höchstwahrscheinlich waren diese Schreiberämter in der Gerichtsverwaltung. Es ist wichtig zu erwähnen, dass die Schreiber in den ägyptischen Gerichten im Alten Reich nicht dieselbe hohe Stellung hatten wie im Neuen Reich. Ihre Rolle wird klar dargestellt in den Registern und Protokollen der Gerichte im Neuen Reich. Dabei be-

[102] *Urk.* I, S. 101, 2.

[103] J. PIRENNE, *op. cit.*, S. 274–275.

[104] N. STRUDWICK, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders, Studies in Egyptology*, London 1985, S. 190.

[105] W. HELCK, *Beamtentitel*, S. 73.

[106] J. L. DE CENIVAL, in: *RdE* 27, 1975, S. 66–69.

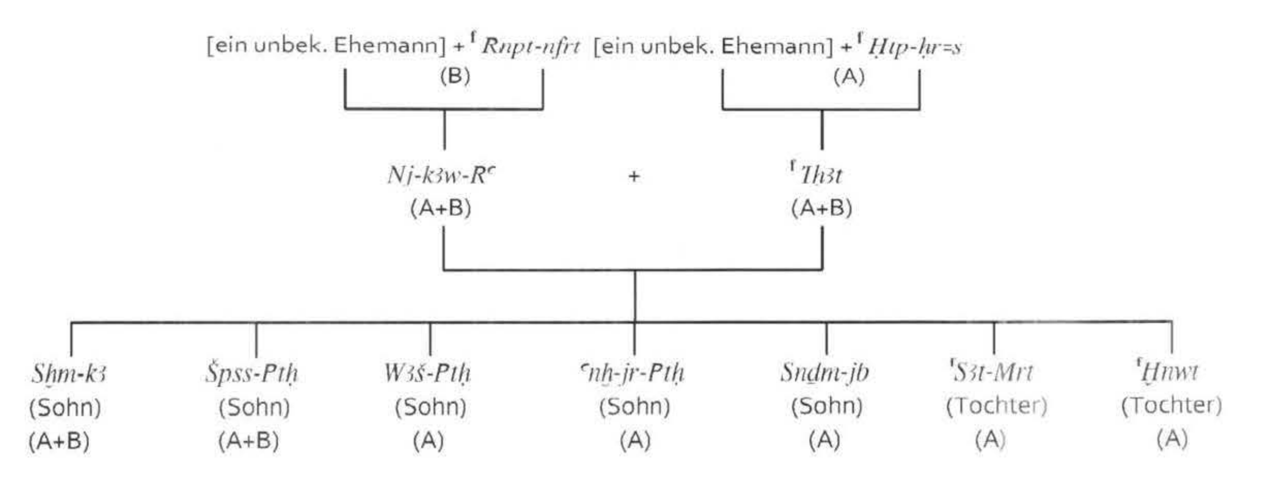
[107] J. THONISSEN, *Etudes sur l'organisation judiciaire, les lois penales et la procedure criminelle de l'Egypte Ancienne*, Paris 1868, S. 19.

[108] *Urk.* I, S. 244, 5–6.

[109] L. BORCHARDT, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures)* I. *Der Bau*, Berlin 1905, S. 51–52.

[110] S. ALLAM, *Hathorkult*, S. 9.

[111] H. G. FISCHER, *Dendera*, S. 34 und Fußnote 147.



A = Scheintür Kairo CG 1414
B = Scheintür Kairo CG 1416
f = feminin

Abb. 6 Genealogie der Familie des Nikaure

schränkte sich die Rolle der Schreiber nicht nur darauf, Klageschriften entgegenzunehmen oder Protokolle zu schreiben, sondern sie griffen unmittelbar ins Gerichtswesen ein[112], denn ihnen war erlaubt, die Konfliktparteien zur Klärung der juristischen Sachlage zu verhören[113].

Anhand dieser Scheintür können wir auch Informationen über die Generationen in der Familie dieses Beamten gewinnen. Sie liefert Informationen über den Namen und die Titel der Ehefrau dieses Beamten, die Ihat hieß. Wir erfahren weiterhin, dass zwei seiner Söhne *Sḫm-kꜣ* und *Špss-Ptḥ* hießen. Ein dritter Sohn, dessen Name leider zerstört ist, wird auch mit ihm auf dieser Scheintür dargestellt. Leider liefert das Objekt keine Informationen über die Namen seiner Eltern, doch ist der Name seiner Mutter auf einem Steinblock[114] im selben Grab erwähnt: Sie hieß *Rnpt-nfrt*[115].

Die andere Scheintür (CG 1414) für diesen Beamten und seine Frau Ihat liefert uns die Reihenfolge der Generationen in dieser Familie und erwähnt weitere Kinder. Daneben erfahren wir, dass Ihats Mutter *Ḥtp-ḥr=s*[116] hieß, und dass sie neben den Söhnen *Sḫm-kꜣ* und *Špss-Ptḥ* weitere drei Söhne und zwei Töchter hatte, deren Familienangehörigkeit mit *sꜣ=f* und *sꜣt=f* festgelegt wird. Die Namen der Söhne sind: *Wꜣš-Ptḥ*[117], *ꜥnḫ-jr-Ptḥ*[118] und *Snḏm-jb*[119]. Während die Namen der Töchter *Sꜣt-Mrt*[120] und *Ḥnwt*[121] sind. Das heißt, wir können die Reihenfolge von drei Generationen der Familie Nikaure wie in Abb. 6 gezeigt feststellen.

Abstract

This Paper deals with a false door of the fifth dynasty which falls among the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The number of this false door is CG 1416. It belongs to the official *Nj-Kꜣw-Rꜥ* who held the titles of *sꜣb sḥḏ jrj-mḏꜣt ḫrj sštꜣ n Ḥwt-wrt* "The Magistrate, Letter Carrier and the Privy of the Secrets of the Great Court". This door was found at Saqqara in 1887. However, the exact site of the tomb is still unknown. This is one of the two false doors of this tomb: The first door is the focus of this study while the second belongs to the owner's wife *Iḥꜣt* (CG 1414) who held the posi-

[112] S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, *URAÄ* 1, Tübingen 1973, Nr. 8, 194, 201; Id., *Egyptian Law Courts in Pharaonic and Hellenistic Times*, in: *JEA* 77, 1991, S. 112.

[113] S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, *URAÄ* 1, Tübingen 1973, Nr. 218.

[114] Auf diesem Steinblock wurde eine Opferliste registriert. Siehe PM III², S. 697.

[115] H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 244, 11.

[116] L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 82; H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 259, 3.

[117] L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 84; H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 74, 10.

[118] L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 84; H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 62, 26.

[119] L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 84; H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 316, 20.

[120] L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 81 und 83; H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 289, 13.

[121] L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, S. 83; H. Ranke, *PN* I, S. 270, 4.

tion of *ḥmt-nṯr Ḥt-Ḥr* "Priestess of Hathor". The importance of this door lies in the fact that it gives us a full account of the ranks of this official including the last positions during his career. The goals of this article focus on covering these titles, shedding light on them via studying the false door as well as other monuments. The article also includes studying the scenes, the inscriptions, and the date of the false door. It also demonstrates the sequence of generations in the family of that official.

Umm el-Qaab
Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 22./23./24. Vorbericht

Von Günter Dreyer, Eva-Maria Engel, Rita Hartmann, Heidi Köpp-Junk, Pierre Meyrat, Vera Müller *und* Ilona Regulski

Die Nachuntersuchungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof von Umm el-Qaab wurden mit Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft mit einer 22. Kampagne vom 17. 10.–3. 12. 2007 und vom 5. 2.–14. 4. 2008, einer 23. Kampagne vom 21. 9.–15. 12. 2008 und vom 8. 2.–15. 4. 2009 sowie einer 24. Kampagne vom 15. 10.–10. 12. 2009 und vom 29. 1.–21. 4. 2010 fortgesetzt[1].

I. Überblick

Die Feldarbeiten waren hauptsächlich auf den Grabkomplex des Djer konzentriert, der seit dem Mittleren Reich als Grab des Osiris angesehen wurde (22.–24. Kamp.). Eine kleinere Sondage galt dem versteckten Tumulus über der Königskammer des Wadj (23. Kamp.). Außerdem wurden verschiedene Reinigungsarbeiten

[1] Für die 1.–19. Kampagne siehe W. Kaiser/P. Grossmann, *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 1. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 35, 1979, S. 155–163; W. Kaiser/G. Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 2. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 38, 1982, S. 211–269; G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 3./4. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 46, 1990, S. 53–90; G. Dreyer/U. Hartung/F. Pumpenmeier, *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 5./6. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 49, 1993, S. 23–62; G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 7./8. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 52, 1996, S. 11–81; G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 9./10. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 54, 1998, S. 77–167; G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 11./12. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 56, 2000, S. 43–129; G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 13./14./15. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 59, 2003, S. 67–138 und G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 16./17./18. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 62, 2006, S. 67–129 und G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 19./20./21. Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 67, 2011, S. 53–92 (im Folgenden als *1., 2., 3./4., 5./6., 7./8., 9./10., 11./12., 13./14./15., 16./17./18.* und *19./20./21. Bericht* zitiert). Zu weiteren Veröffentlichungen siehe *19./20./21. Bericht*, Anm. 1.
Neben den im *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* verwendeten Abkürzungen werden für einige häufiger zitierte Werke folgende Kürzel gebraucht: É. Amélineau, *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos* I–III, Paris 1895–1904: *NF* I–III; W. B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* I–III, *Excav.Saqq.* 20, 24–25, Cairo/London 1949–1958: *GT* I–III; J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie*, *GOF* IV/29, Wiesbaden 1994: *System der Hieroglyphenschrift*; P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* I–III, *ÄA* 8, Wiesbaden 1963: *IÄF* I–III; W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* I–II, *Memoir EEF* 19, 21, London 1900–1901: *RT* I–II; W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos* I, *Memoir EEF* 22, London 1902: *Abydos* I; E.-M. Engel/V. Müller/U. Hartung (Hrsg.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*, *MENES* 5, Wiesbaden 2008: *Fs Dreyer*; I. Regulski, *A Palaeographic Study of Early Writing in Egypt*, *OLA* 195, Leuven 2010: *Palaeographic Study*.

südöstlich des Grabes des Dewen (22. Kamp.) und nördlich des Grabes des Peribsen (22.–23. Kamp.) ausgeführt[2]. An der Königskammer des Dewen und dem daran angeschlossenen Statuenkammerannex wurden Restaurierungsmaßnahmen vorgenommen (24. Kamp.). An das Grabungshaus wurde ein neues Magazin für die umfangreichen Keramikfunde angebaut.

Die Fundbearbeitung galt hauptsächlich folgenden Materialgruppen:

Friedhof U: Keramik und Kleinfunde, Skelettreste
Friedhof B: Kleinfunde
Grab des Djer: Kleinfunde, insbesondere Siegelabrollungen
Grab des Dewen: Keramik, Steingefäße, Kleinfunde, Siegelabrollungen
Grab des Semerchet: Keramik, Siegelabrollungen, Möbeleinlagen aus Bein und Elfenbein
Grab des Peribsen: Abschluss der Bearbeitung der Siegelabrollungen
Grab des Chasechemui: Keramik, Steingefäße, Abschluss der Aufnahme der Kleinfunde (außer der Siegelabrollungen)
Jahrestäfelchen

Die Ergebnisse zum Osiriskult werden im Rahmen eines gesonderten Projektes ‚Osiris in Abydos' bearbeitet, das von U. und A. Effland und J. Budka betreut wird[3].

Grab des Djer

Im Grabkomplex des Djer wurde die Königskammer vollständig ausgehoben. Am Boden waren im Estrich noch Abdrücke des großen Holzschreines festzustellen, der von den Zungenmauern gestützt wurde. Wahrscheinlich war der Schrein als Hausmodell unterteilt.

Über dem Boden waren auf einer dünnen Sandschicht auch noch Reste eines zweiten Estrichs erhalten, der ebenso wie die in der NW-Ecke der Kammer eingebaute Treppe aus dem Mittleren Reich stammen dürfte, die gleichfalls auf eine Sandschicht gegründet ist. In mehreren Seitenkammern gibt es zahlreiche Abdrücke von dort gelagerten Tongefäßen. Dazwischen fanden sich etliche Gefäßböden *in situ*. Offenbar ist das Grab für die Einrichtung des Osiriskultes gar nicht vollständig ausgeräumt worden.

Von den mehr als 300 Nebengräbern wurden die Reihen im Süden und Westen, drei der fünf Reihen im Norden und der Südabschnitt der langen östlichen Reihe aufgedeckt. Insgesamt wurden 101 Kammern geleert. In vielen Kammern sind die Seitenwände für die Aufstellung von zu großen Särgen ausgehackt worden. Verschiedentlich sind in den Reihen auch die Kammereinteilungen verändert worden. Aus Baufugen, der Anordnung und der unterschiedlichen Ausführung der Kammern sind mehrere Bauphasen zu erschließen, bei denen immer wieder Nebengräber hinzugefügt wurden. Die letzten sind wahrscheinlich in großer Eile erst kurz vor oder bei der Bestattung des Königs angelegt worden.

Aus der Füllung der Königskammer, den Nebengräbern und Schuttüberlagerungen wurden neben großen Mengen an Keramik und Steingefäßfragmenten wieder zahlreiche Verschlüsse mit z. T. noch unbekannten Siegelabrollungen sowie Kleinfunde aus Elfenbein, Stein und anderen Materialen von außerordentlich hoher Qualität geborgen.

Grab des Wadj

Vom Grab des Wadj wurde die Westwand der Königskammer noch einmal freigelegt, um ihre genaue Lage für einen neuen Gesamtplan von Umm el-Qaab einzumessen. Dabei wurde auch die NW-Ecke der Einfassungsmauer des in der Grabgrube über der Königskammer befindlichen Sandtumulus aufgedeckt, die bei der ersten Sondage 1988 noch nicht ausgegraben worden war. Sie ist bis zur ursprünglichen Höhe von ca. 1,20 m erhalten und nur außen verputzt. In der Grabgrube wurde unter anderem ein Gefäßfragment mit Tintenaufschrift des Sechemkasedj gefunden.

Grab des Dewen/Den

An der restaurierten Königskammer und dem Annex mit der Statuenkammer im SW wurden verschiedene Instandsetzungsarbeiten ausgeführt.

Südöstlich des Grabes wurde in einem Streifen von ca. 19 x 44 m untersucht, ob sich dort noch Spuren der Fortsetzung des Prozessionsweges erhalten haben, von dem 2003 ein Abschnitt in ca. 45 m Entfernung von der Eingangstreppe zur Königskammer aufgedeckt worden war[4]. Bei der Auswertung von Satellitenphotos hatte sich ergeben, dass der mit Keramikflaschen der Spätzeit (25. Dynastie) gesäumte Weg vom Grab des Djer (das als Grab des Osiris angesehen wurde) herkommend auf einen ca.

[2] Die Himmelsrichtungen beziehen sich auf die Flussrichtung des Nils: NW = N, NO = O etc.

[3] U. Effland/J. Budka/A. Effland, *Studien zum Osiriskult in Umm el-Qaab/Abydos – Ein Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 66, 2011, S. 19–91; U. Effland/A. Effland, *Abydos – Tor zur Ägyptischen Unterwelt*, Darmstadt/Mainz 2013.

[4] V. Müller, in: *16./17./18. Bericht*, S. 74 Abb. 2, Bezeichnung T-SD.

150 m südlich von Umm el-Qaab befindlichen Hügel ausgerichtet ist[5]. Dieser sog. ‚Südhügel' ist dicht mit spätzeitlicher Opferkeramik bedeckt und scheint ebenfalls eine Rolle beim Osiriskult gespielt zu haben. Bereits in den 1980er Jahren durchgeführte Bohrungen hatten gezeigt, dass es sich dabei um eine natürliche Erhebung handelt. Mit einigem Aufwand wurde im Untersuchungsbereich auch ein Teil der Ende der 1990er Jahre in Unkenntnis dieses Befundes deponierten Schutthalden abgetragen, Anhaltspunkte für den Prozessionsweg waren jedoch nicht mehr festzustellen.

Grab des Peribsen

In Ausweitung eines 2005 angelegten Schnittes wurden nördlich des Grabes weitere Bereiche der Wüstenoberfläche gereinigt. Aus den Schuttüberlagerungen wurden mehrere gesiegelte Verschlüsse des Peribsen und des Sechemib sowie einige Streufunde aus dem Grab des Djer geborgen, unter anderem die Stele einer Frau.

Fundbearbeitung

Bei der Fundbearbeitung wurde mit der Inventarisierung der zahlreichen Kleinfunde aus dem Grab des Djer begonnen. Unter den bisher nicht belegten Siegelabrollungen ist ein sehr ungewöhnliches Festsiegel mit der Darstellung eines Mannes, der ein Nilpferd stemmt.

Eine besondere Gruppe unter den Grabbeigaben des Dewen bilden die sog. ‚Fancy-Steingefäße', die sich durch ihre besondere Formgebung auszeichnen. Unter den ca. 500 während der Nachuntersuchungen geborgenen Fragmenten fanden sich verschiedene Anschlüsse zu Stücken aus den älteren Grabungen. Als Prestigeobjekte sind auch die aus der Levante importierten kleinen Flaschen und Krüge anzusehen (W. M. F. PETRIES *Aegean ware*). Im Umfeld des Grabes kamen Fragmente von ca. 250 solcher Gefäße zutage, die eine große Bandbreite zeigen. Unter den Siegelabrollungen des Dewen konnten wiederum mehrere neue Siegeltypen identifiziert werden. Ein Siegel mit der Nennung des Weingartens „südliches *šḫ*ʿ" lässt sich den Importgefäßen zuordnen.

Im Zuge der Dokumentation der Weinkrüge aus dem Grab des Semerchet wurden vier Dekorvarianten festgestellt, die jeweils auf Nil- und Mergeltongefäßen auftreten. Anhand der markanten Randausprägung lassen sich einem Typ bestimmte Verschlüsse mit der Abrollung des Siegels *IÄF* III, Abb. 243 zuweisen. Die Volumina einiger Gefäße lassen vermuten, dass sie an altägyptische Hohlmaße angepasst sind. Zum Vergleich zwischen den Weinkrügen aus den Gräbern des Semerchet und des Dewen wurde das Verhältnis von Höhe zum Volumen bzw. dem Randdurchmesser untersucht.

Die Durchsicht der ca. 1000 zumeist fragmentarischen Siegelabrollungen aus dem Grab des Peribsen ergab, dass die *taffl*-Verschlüsse (ca. 55 %) sämtlich im Namen von Peribsen gesiegelt worden sind, während auf den etwa 330 identifizierbaren Niltonverschlüssen auch der Name des Sechemib auftritt und zwar sogar doppelt so oft wie der des Peribsen. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist ein Verschluss mit beiden Namen, die sehr wahrscheinlich von zwei verschiedenen Siegeln stammen. Die umstrittene Frage nach der Stellung des Sechemib muss danach neu überdacht werden.

Von der Keramik aus dem Grab des Chasechemui konnte die Bearbeitung der Brotformen und *nmst*-Gefäße aus Nilton abgeschlossen werden. Bei den Bierflaschen fanden sich überraschenderweise einige, die aus einer Mischung von Nil- und Mergelton hergestellt sind. Aus Scherben der meist stark zerstörten Mergeltongefäße konnten mehrere vollständige Profile zusammengesetzt werden. Ein Gefäß weist noch Spuren eines Transportnetzes auf.

Teilnehmer waren: G. DREYER (Leiter 22.–24. Kamp.), die Prähistoriker/in U. HARTUNG (22.–24. Kamp.) und R. HARTMANN (22.–24. Kamp.), die Ägyptologen/innen A. BLÖBAUM (22.–24. Kamp.), J. BOCK (24. Kamp.), B. BÖHM (22. Kamp.), K. BUTT (22.–23. Kamp.), E.-M. ENGEL (22. Kamp.), I. KÖHLER (22.–24. Kamp.), H. KÖPP (22.–24. Kamp.), A. KOHSE (22.–24. Kamp.), P. MEYRAT (23.–24. Kamp.), V. MÜLLER (22.–24. Kamp.), A. POKORNY (22. Kamp.) und I. REGULSKI (24. Kamp.), die Bauforscher/innen U. FAUERBACH (22. Kamp.), C. LACHER (22. Kamp.), M. SÄHLHOF (23.–24. Kamp.) und Z. SPYRANTI (24. Kamp.), die Studenten/innen der Ägyptologie/Vor- und Frühgeschichte/Architektur C. KNOOP (23. Kamp.), R. KUHN (22.–24. Kamp.), E.-S. LINCKE (22.–23. Kamp.), M. MAHN (22.–24. Kamp.), N. MARCINCZIK (23.–24. Kamp.), U. SIKORA (24. Kamp.), B. STEIDLE (24. Kamp.) und B. WORTMANN (24. Kamp.), der Photograph F. BARTHEL (22.–24. Kamp.) sowie der Anthropologe J. IRISH (22. Kamp.) und die Flechtwerkexpertin und Archäologin CH. HOCHSTRASSER-PETIT (24. Kamp.).

[5] Vgl. U. EFFLAND/J. BUDKA/A. EFFLAND, in: *MDAIK* 66, 2010, S. 81–82 mit Abb. 52.

Vertreter der ägyptischen Antikenverwaltung waren W. FAWZI SHEHATA, M. EL-BEDRI AHMED und S. SAMY SALAMA (22. Kamp.), S. MOHAMMED ABD EL-RAHMAN, 'A. ABD EL-HALIM ABDULLAH EL-QADI und S. ABDU ABD EL-AZIZ (23. Kamp.), K. KAMAL TIMSEH, M. MAHMOUD MOH. HASSAN, W. MOSTAFA MUHAMMED und M. ABD ER-RAHMAN (24. Kamp.) als Inspektoren; die Gruppe der Grabungsarbeiter setzte sich aus acht bis zwölf Quftis und bis zu 100 Ortsansässigen zusammen, die von Rais K. ABD EL-HAMID geführt wurden. Ihnen allen sei hier ebenso wie den Vertretern der Inspektorate in Balyana und Sohag für die gute Zusammenarbeit und Unterstützung herzlich gedankt.

Besonderer Dank gilt außerdem Frau CH. HERZER in Berlin, Herrn Dr. H. NOKRASCHY in Darmstadt und Herrn D. TOMCZAK in Würselen für ihre regelmäßigen Spenden.

Die Zeichnungen in den folgenden Beiträgen stammen – wenn nicht anders vermerkt – von den jeweiligen Autoren.

G. D.

II. Grab des Djer

II.1 Königskammer

Im Grabkomplex des Djer (Abb. 1) wurde die schon während der 21. Kampagne teilweise ausgehobene Königskammer[6] vollständig geleert (Abb. 2). Ihre Tiefe beträgt ca. 3,05 m. In der NW-Ecke der Kammer wurden noch Reste der teilweise von W. M. F. PETRIE abgebauten kleinen Treppe gefunden[7], die vermutlich aus dem Mittleren Reich stammt, als das Grab in Zusammenhang mit dem Osiriskult umgestaltet und eine Statue des auf einer Bahre ruhenden Osiris dort eingebracht wurde[8]. Die Treppe ist aus großformatigen Ziegeln (37 × 20 × 11,5 cm) gemauert und unverbrannt (Abb. 3).

Der Kammerboden mit einem Ziegelpflaster und Schlammestrich darüber erwies sich erstaunlicherweise als weitgehend ungestört. In dem Estrich waren auch allenthalben noch Abdrücke von dicht verlegten Halbrundhölzern festzustellen (Abb. 4), die offenbar als Auflager für den Holzfußboden des großen, in der Kammer aufgestellten Schreines dienten. Diese Hölzer sind mit unterschiedlicher Länge und Ausrichtung in einem auffälligen Muster von größeren und kleinen rechteckigen Sektionen verlegt und lassen eine Unterteilung des Schreines als Hausmodell vermuten[9]. Unmittelbar vor bzw. unter dem Ende der Zungenmauern waren auch noch Abdrücke der Rahmenbalken des Schreins erhalten, der 10,50 × 8,60 m groß war und im Westen direkt an die Ausmauerung der Königskammer führte. Farbreste auf einem Holzabdruck von der Schreinwand am Ende der Zungenmauer zwischen den Kammern 9 und 10 zeigen, dass er rot bemalt war[10].

Die beiden schon von W. M. F. PETRIE verzeichneten Scheintürnischen in der SW-Ecke und in Kammer 2 in der NW-Ecke sind jeweils ca. 93 cm breit und ca. 13 cm (1/2 Ziegel) tief. Die oberen Abschnitte sind ausgebrochen, bei Nachuntersuchungen (Herbst 2012) ließ sich anhand des Mauerverbandes aber noch nachweisen, dass sie eine Höhe von etwa 2,10 m (4 Ellen) hatten. Die unmittelbar vor dem Schrein befindliche Nische im SW ist sicherlich als Ausgang in Richtung auf das *Wadi* als Eingang zum Jenseits zu verstehen[11], während mit der Scheintür im NW wohl eine Verbindung zu den Nebengräbern hergestellt werden sollte, die zum größten Teil im Norden liegen[12].

Einige Zentimeter über dem Estrich der 1. Dynastie waren in der Mitte der Kammer noch Reste eines weiteren Estrichs auf einer dünnen Sandschicht erhalten (Abb. 4), der wie die Treppe aus dem Mittleren Reich stammen dürfte. Offenbar ist die Grabkammer für die Installationen des Osiriskultes gar nicht vollständig ausgeräumt worden, in mehreren der durch die Zungenmauern gebildeten Nebenkammern steckten im Boden noch Keramikfragmente (Abb. 5), und auch die Treppe, unter der W. M. F. PETRIE noch einige Importgefäße fand, ist nicht unmittelbar auf den Estrich der 1. Dynastie, sondern auf eine dünne Sandschicht gegründet.

Nach der Reinigung wurde die von C. LACHER begonnene Bauaufnahme durch M. SÄHLHOF vervollständigt und mit einem N-S-Schnitt im Handaufmaß

[6] Siehe *19./20./21. Bericht*, S. 55–57.

[7] *RT* II, S. 9, Pl. LVI.3–4.

[8] É. AMÉLINEAU, *Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, Paris 1899. Zu neueren Erkenntnissen über die Aufstellung siehe U. EFFLAND/A. EFFLAND, *Abydos – Tor zur ägyptischen Unterwelt*, Darmstadt/Mainz 2013, S. 17–20.

[9] Vgl. die Überlegungen zur Funktion der Schreine von W. KAISER, in: *2. Bericht*, S. 247–249.

[10] Rote Farbreste waren auch schon auf den Holzbrettern von dem Schrein in Kammer B 19 des Aha festzustellen, siehe *2. Bericht*, S. 218.

[11] G. DREYER, in: *3./4. Bericht*, S. 77–78.

[12] So auch im Grabkomplex des Wadj, wo sich die Hauptmenge der Nebengräber ebenfalls im Norden befindet, vgl. *RT* II, Pl. LVIII.

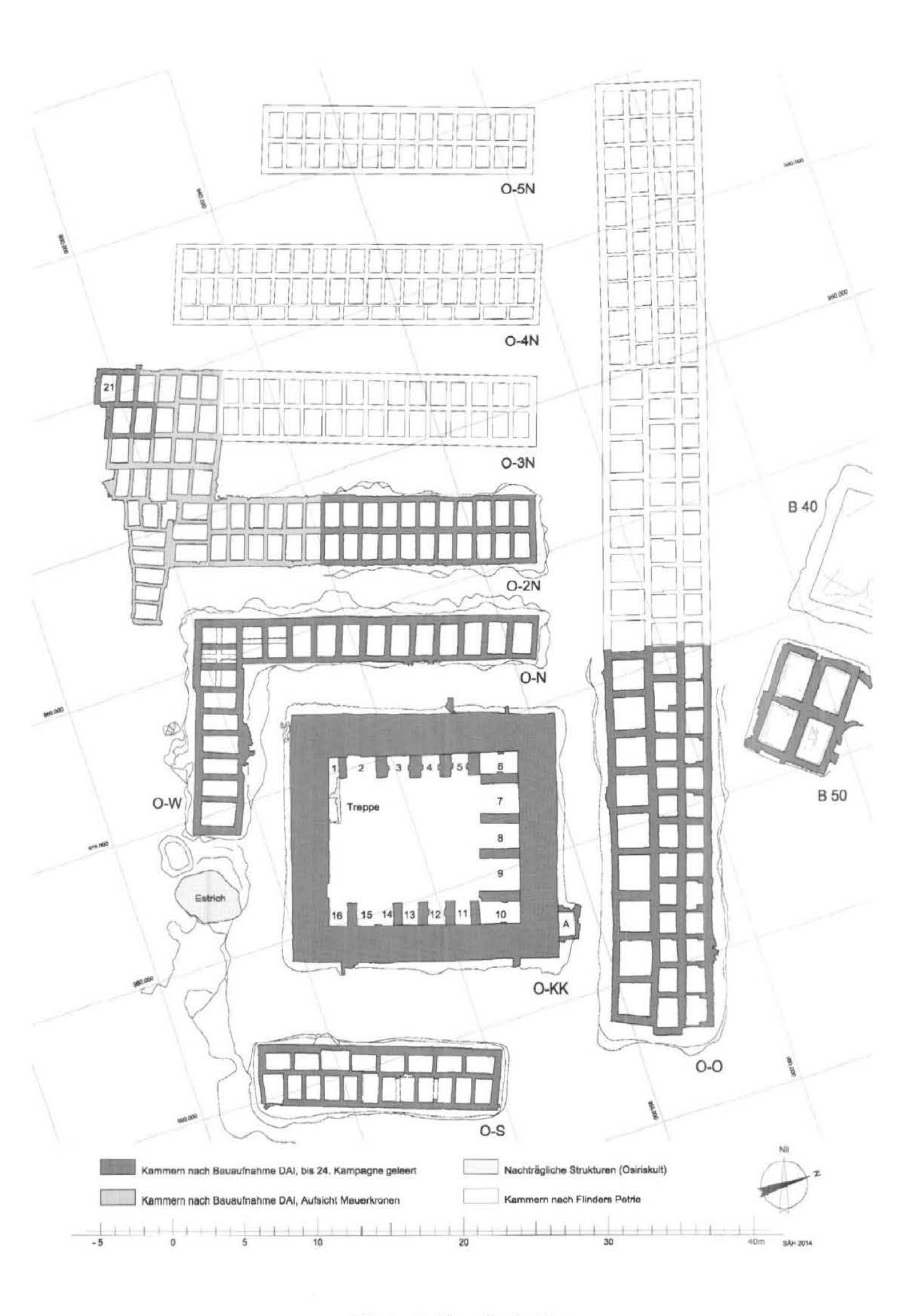


Abb. 1 Grabkomplex des Djer

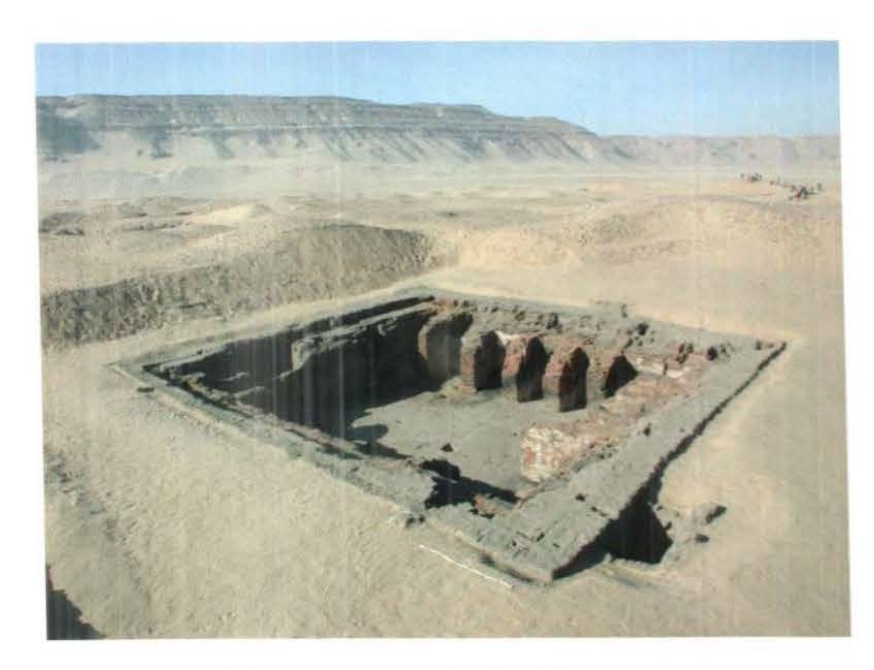


Abb. 2
Djer, Königskammer von SO



Abb. 3
Djer, Treppe des Mittleren Reiches in der Königskammer

(M 1:50) ergänzt. Um weitere Rückschlüsse auf die Konstruktion der Abdeckung und des hölzernen Schreines ziehen zu können, wurden die im Bodenplan dokumentierten Befunde in eine dreidimensionale Rekonstruktionszeichnung in AutoCAD umgesetzt.

II.2 Nebengräber

Nach weiterem Abbau der alten Schutthalden wurde in der 23.–24. Kampagne mit der Freilegung der allseitig um die Königskammer angelegten Nebengräber begonnen (Abb. 6–7).

Die kleineren baulichen Einheiten auf der Süd- und Westseite konnten vollständig freigelegt und geleert werden. Von der langen Reihe auf der Ostseite wurde der südliche Abschnitt aufgedeckt und 35 Kammern ausgehoben. Von den fünf Reihen auf der Nordseite wurden die erste bis dritte Reihe aufgedeckt und die elf Kammern der ersten Reihe vollständig geleert. In der zweiten Reihe wurden 22 Kammern am Ostende und in der dritten Reihe vier Kammern am Westende untersucht. Mit dem durchgesiebten Material wurde die Grabgrube des Peribsen aufgefüllt.

Die Oberkanten der Nebengräber weisen recht unterschiedliche Niveaus auf. Die westliche Reihe (O-W) und die erste nördliche Reihe (O-N) entsprechen etwa dem der Königskammer, die südliche Reihe (O-



Abb. 4
Djer, Boden der Königskammer



Abb. 5 Djer, Gefäßabdrücke in Kammer O-KK 9

S) und die zweite nördliche Reihe (O-2N) liegen ca. 80 cm höher, die dritte nördliche Reihe (O-3N) nur ca. 40 cm höher, die östlichen Gräber (O-O) dagegen um 70 cm tiefer. Bei der Anlage der Baugruben folgte man wahrscheinlich dem damaligen Geländerelief, das in sich gewellt von Westen nach Osten abfiel. Für die Königskammer bedeutet das, dass sie ähnlich wie die des Wadj (siehe unten, S. 31) schon einen in der Grabgrube versteckten, aber wohl flacheren Tumulus gehabt haben könnte.

Die Grubenausmauerung der baulichen Einheiten ist an der Mauerkrone zumeist zwei Ziegel stark, die längeren Unterteilungsmauern haben eine Stärke von 1½–2 Ziegel, die kurzen Zwischenwände sind überwiegend einziegelig. Eine ganze Reihe von Kammern weisen Aushackungen auf, mit denen Platz für die offenbar häufig zu großen Holzsärge geschaffen wurde.

Auf den Mauerkronen der Außenwände sind verschiedentlich noch Reste einer Holzbalkendecke erhalten. Die Balkenköpfe waren dort in einer Ziegellage eingemauert. Auf den im Abstand von ca. 15 cm verlegten Rundhölzern (Dm. ca. 11 cm) waren Schilfmatten ausgelegt, darüber folgte eine Ziegelschicht mit Verputz. Die Matten sind auch durch Abdrücke in Mörtelfragmenten belegt, die im Aushub einiger Kammern gefunden wurden. Die Oberkante der Abdeckungen lag wohl zumeist etwa 25 cm unterhalb des damaligen Wüstenniveaus.

Südseite

Die südlichen Nebengräber bestehen aus einer baulichen Einheit von ca. 16,50 × 4,08 m Größe mit 20 Kammern (O-S1–20). Der Abstand zur Königskammer beträgt etwa 5,65 m. Eine durchlaufende Mittelwand trennt zwei Streifen mit acht größeren, O-W orientierten Kammern im Norden und zwölf kleineren, N-S ausgerichteten Kammern im Süden. Die Tiefe beträgt durchweg ca. 1,45 m, am Boden von zwei Kammern sind noch Reste von Holzsärgen erhalten. Bei diesen Kammern sind zwei bzw. drei Wände ausgehackt worden, da der Platz für die Särge nicht aus-



Abb. 6
Grabkomplex des Djer von SO

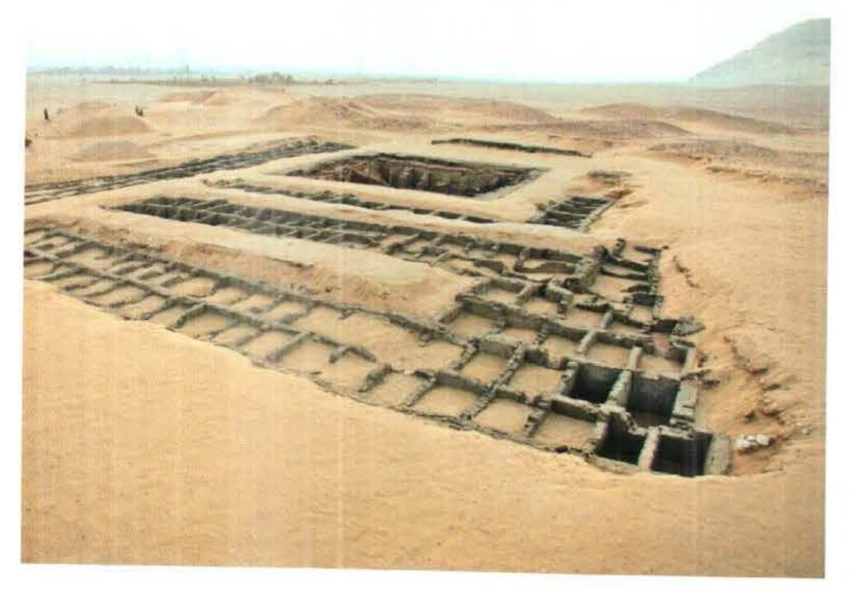


Abb. 7
Grabkomplex des Djer von NW, im Vordergrund die zweite und dritte Reihe der nördlichen Nebengräber

reichte (Abb. 8). Vor allem im Norden gibt es Brandspuren, die in Zusammenhang mit dem Brand der Königskammer stehen dürften.

Westseite

Die nur neun Kammern umfassende westliche Reihe (Länge 14,93 m, Breite 3,37 m) liegt in ca. 3,40 m Abstand von der Königskammer. Sie beginnt im Süden erst in Höhe der Mittelachse der Königskammer und lässt damit erstmals eine Ausgangslücke im Zingel der Nebengräber vor der Scheintür im SW[13]. Im Norden führt sie an die erste nördliche Nebenkammerreihe, mit der sie im Verbund gemauert ist. Die Kammern sind O-W orientiert, jeweils ca. 2,50 × 1,10 m groß und 1,45 m tief. In den nördlichen Kammern waren nachträgliche Veränderungen der Kammeraufteilung festzustellen. Ursprünglich befanden sich dort vier kleinere Kammern, die durch Versetzen der Zwischenwände zu drei größeren Kammern umgebaut wurden. In den mittleren Kammern hat man außerdem die Kammergröße durch Reduzierung der Außen-

[13] Vgl. oben S. 20 mit Anm. 11.

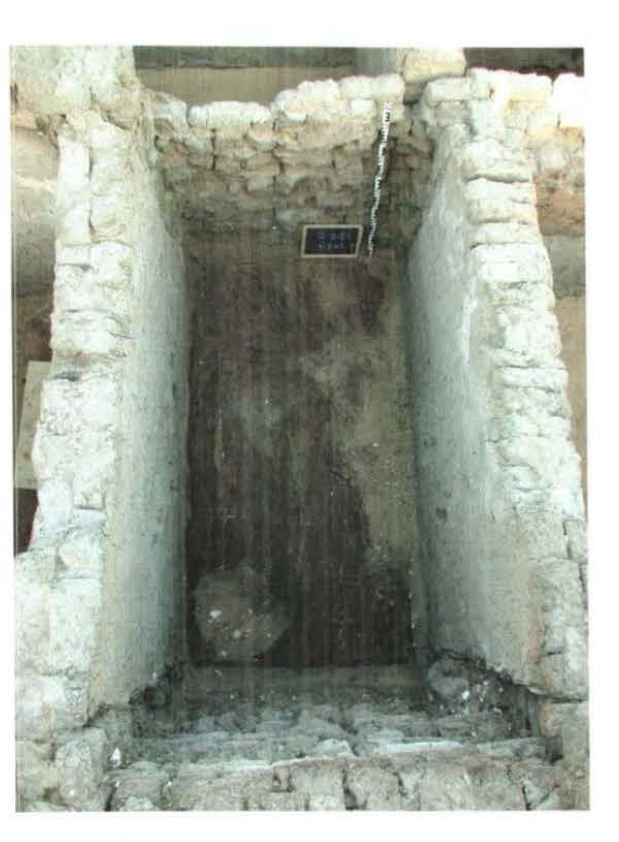


Abb. 8 Djer, Kammer O-S14 mit ausgehackten Wänden und Sargboden

wände um jeweils eine Ziegellänge erweitert. In der nördlichsten Kammer (O-W9) wurde noch ein Sargboden aufgefunden (erh. Länge 1,54 m, Breite 0,90 m).

Ostseite

Die ca. 7 m breite und über 65 m lange östliche Nebengräberreihe verläuft im Abstand von ca. 4,30 m in N-S-Richtung parallel zur Königskammer. Im Norden endet sie ungefähr in Höhe der fünften Reihe der nördlichen Nebengräber. Sie besteht aus zwei baulichen Einheiten: dem in vier Streifen unterteilten Nordabschnitt mit durchweg kleinen Kammern und dem sicherlich früheren Südabschnitt, der durch zwei Ziegel starke Mauern in drei unterschiedliche Streifen unterteilt ist. Dort befinden sich größere Kammern mit nahezu quadratischem Grundriss (2,05 × 2,10 m) im Westen und kleinere rechteckige Kammern (1,35 × 1,15 m) in der Mitte und im Osten. Die westlichen Kammern haben Trennwände von zwei Ziegel Stärke und sind etwas tiefer (ca. 1,50 m) als die Kammern in der Mitte und im Osten (1,20–1,30 m), deren Trennwände nur 1½ Ziegel dick sind. Anders als zunächst vermutet sind die drei Streifen in einem Zug angelegt worden. Baumaterial und Bautechnik entsprechen der ersten Reihe auf der Nordseite.

Auf den Mauerkronen der westlichen und östlichen Außenwand sind noch umfangreiche Eindeckungsreste erhalten. In mehreren Kammern wurden am Boden Holzreste von Särgen gefunden. Vor allem im Oststreifen finden sich häufig Aushackungen der Schmalwände von einem Ziegel Tiefe und ca. 85 cm Breite, um Platz für die Särge zu gewinnen.

Nordseite

Die erste nördliche Nebengräberreihe ist 20,71 m lang und 3,04 m breit. Sie verläuft im Abstand von etwa 3,70 m parallel zur Königskammer. Sie besteht aus einer baulichen Einheit von zwölf Kammern und ist mit der westlichen Nebengräberreihe verbunden (siehe oben). Ursprünglich waren die beiden westlichen Kammern noch durch Zwischenwände unterteilt. Die Kammern sind ca. 1,45 m tief, die Stärke der Außenmauern beträgt zwei Ziegel, die der Kammertrennwände 1½ Ziegel. Die Trennwände sind mit den Außenmauern im Verband errichtet. Auf dem Boden einer Kammer (O-N7) ist noch der Boden eines Holzsargs von 1,70 × 0,80 m Größe erhalten.

Die zweite und dritte nördliche Reihe der nördlichen Nebengräber verlaufen in 10,30 m bzw. 18,60 m Abstand parallel zur Königskammer. Beide bestanden ursprünglich wahrscheinlich nur aus Doppelstreifen mit jeweils 2 × 17 N-S orientierten Kammern von ca. 1,70 × 1,20 m Größe und ca. 1,30 m Tiefe, wurden aber später in mehreren Bauphasen nach Westen erweitert: Die dritte Reihe wurde um elf Kammern verlängert, von denen eine in W. M. F. Petries Plan fehlt (O-3N21), zehn Kammern wurden in den ca. 3,70 m breiten Bereich zwischen den beiden Reihen eingefügt und schließlich wurde die zweite Reihe sehr unregelmäßig nach W und SW um elf Kammern erweitert. Die Mauerkronen dieser Kammern liegen ca. 0,60 m tiefer, das Mauerwerk zeigt eine deutlich schlechtere Bauausführung, ist teilweise nur einen halben Ziegel stark und blieb teilweise unverputzt. Ganz offensichtlich handelt es sich um sehr eilig gebaute zusätzliche Kammern, die vermutlich erst kurz vor der Bestattung hinzugefügt wurden.

II.3 Funde

Aus der Restfüllung der Königskammer, den Schutthalden über den Nebengräbern und den Kammerfüllungen wurden erneut große Mengen Keramik (vor allem Weinkrugscherben), Steingefäßfragmente, Siegelabrollungen (siehe unten) und zahlreiche andere Kleinfunde geborgen. Wiederum bemerkenswert ist die Häufigkeit und Vielfalt der Pfeilspitzen aus Bergkristall, Flint, Elfenbein und Bein sowie ande-







Abb. 9
Djer, Anhänger in Form eines Frosches aus Malachit (Ab K 17055a, H 1,2 cm)

Abb. 10
Djer, Anhängetäfelchen aus Elfenbein mit Stoffbezeichnung (Ab K 2711, H 1,8 cm)

Abb. 11
Djer, Möbelfuß aus Kammer O-O4 (Ab K 11500, H 8 cm)

rer qualitativ hochwertiger Objekte im Bereich der Königskammer[14], darunter ein vorzüglich gearbeiteter Anhänger in Form eines Frosches aus Malachit (Ab K 17055a, H 1,2 cm; Abb. 9) und mehrere kleine beschriftete Anhängetäfelchen aus Elfenbein mit Herkunftsangaben und Stoffbezeichnungen (z. B. Ab K 2711, H 1,8 cm; Abb. 10).

In den Nebengräbern war die Fundkonzentration deutlich geringer. Bei einer der östlichen Nebenkammern fand sich ein Konvolut von Scherben, die zu mehreren fast vollständigen Tongefäßen zusammengesetzt werden konnten. Aus Kammer O-O4 stammt ein Möbelfuß in Gestalt eines Rinderhufes aus Elfenbein (Ab K 11500, H 8 cm; Abb. 11). Bei den nördlichen und östlichen Nebengräbern wurden außerdem mehrere zumeist stark verwitterte Privatstelen geborgen (vgl. Abb. 12).

Neben frühzeitlichem Material kamen auch wieder zahlreiche Opfergefäße (zumeist große Flaschen und kleine *qaab*-Schalen), Weihrauchbröckchen und einige Fayenceamulette zutage. Am Boden der Königskammer lagen neben einigen Kalkstein- und Sandsteinblöcken weitere Fragmente aus kristallinem Kalkstein vom Schrein des Osirisbettes[15].

G. D.[*]

II.4 Seal impressions

In the course of the recent re-excavations of the tomb of Djer at Umm el-Qaab, three small bag sealings[16] with unique seal impressions came to light. The original seal design, which can be reconstructed by assembling the different impressions (Abb. 13)[17], includes a remarkable iconography: a man with a pointy-shaped head wearing a penis sheath is lifting a hippopotamus above his head. Despite the problematic archaeological context of the Umm el-Qaab cemetery and the absence of a royal name, the exclusive appearance of these tiny fragments within the precinct of king Djer suggests a date in the reign of this king.

a) Ab K 11167 (O-SO; Nile clay; 2.7 × 3.2 × 1.3 cm); (Abb. 14, 15, left)
The sealing itself is relatively well preserved with three original sides still recognizable and a nega-

[14] Vgl. *19./20./21. Bericht*, S. 60–62.

[15] Siehe U. Effland/A. Effland, *Abydos – Tor zur ägyptischen Unterwelt*, Darmstadt/Mainz 2013, S. 17–20.

[*] Unter Mitarbeit von Martin Sählhof.

[16] Type B2; E.-M. Engel/V. Müller, *Verschlüsse der Frühzeit: Erstellung einer Typologie*, in: *GM* 178, 2000, p. 39, Abb. 3.

[17] The following definitions are used: (clay) sealing: the piece of clay used to secure an object and usually bearing one or more seal impressions; (cylinder) seal: a cylindrical device bearing incised motifs and used to make impressions on a substance; seal impression: the impression made by a seal rolled over a piece of clay.

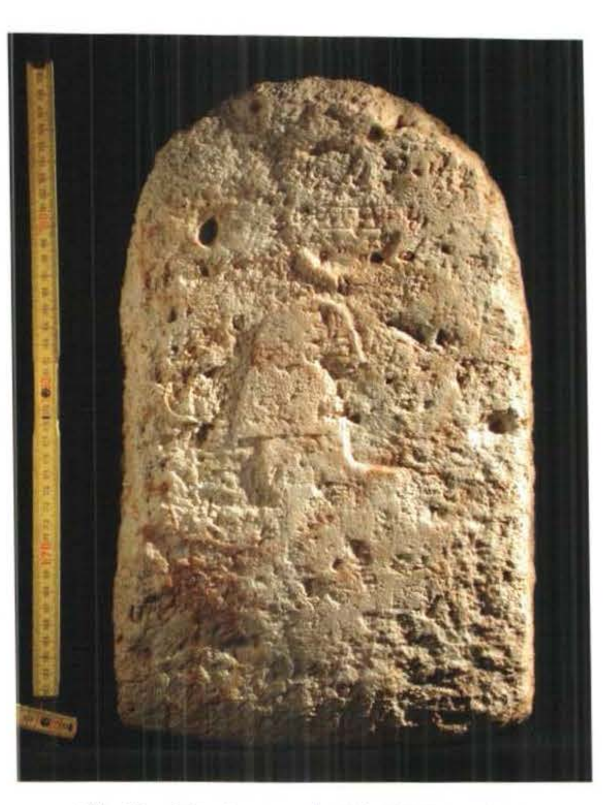
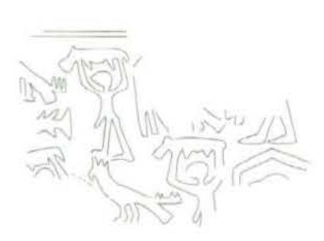


Abb. 12 Djer, Frauenstele (Ab K 6970, H 41 cm)

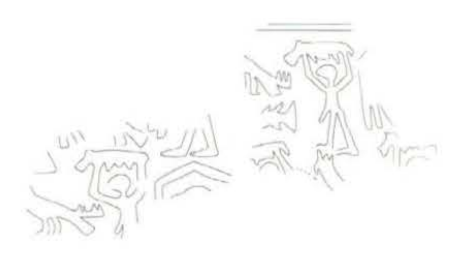
tive imprint of fabric and cord on its back. The impression is only partly preserved. In its centre a standing male figure with a pointy-shaped head wearing a penis sheath lifts a hippopotamus above his head[18]. This composition is preceded by a bird with an elaborately executed tail. Apart from the protrusions in the tail, for which no exact parallel could be found, the sign resembles a falcon[19]. Behind the male figure, the upper part of the *sḫn*-arms (D32[20]) and the head of the crested ibis (G25) can be reconstructed as the title *sḫn-ꜣḫ* (cf. *infra*). Above the *sḫn*-arms, the feet of a human figure suggest that similar content is depicted in a second register although it is unclear whether this male is also carrying a hippopotamus. Part of a bird's tail can indeed be seen in front of the feet.

b) Ab K 11168 (O-SO; Nile clay; 2.3 × 3.3 × 1.4 cm); (Abb. 14, 15, middle)
The sealing itself is well preserved and the backside shows a negative imprint of fabric and cord. Although the seal impression is not completely preserved, the quality of its execution is good. The central depiction shows a clearer version of the male figure with pointed head and penis holder lifting a hippopotamus. A bird with elaborate tail again appears in front of the male but on a slightly higher level than on K 11167. The upright position of the bird suggests the identification as an owl (G17). The sign below could attentively be reconstructed as a fish based on a comparison with K 11427 (cf. *infra*). The remnants of the sign behind the person cannot be reconstructed with certainty. A register line can be distinguished above the scene showing that this is the upper register of the seal.

c) Ab K 11427 (O-KK-SW; Nile clay; 1.9 × 2.6 × 1.1 cm); (Abb. 14, 15, right)
The sealing itself is in poor condition although a negative imprint of cord can still be seen on the back. The male figure lifting the hippopotamus is less well visible than in the previous impressions



possibility 1:
K11168+K11427 - K11167



possibility 2:
K11167 K11168+K11427

Abb. 13 Djer, seal reconstruction

[18] P. BEHRENS, *Phallustasche*, in: *LÄ* IV, col. 1020. For archaeologically attested examples fabricated from leather and fabric, see A. M. LYTHGOE, *The Predynastic Cemetery N7000, The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga ed-Dêr* IV, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1965, tombs N7372, N7456, N7597, N7619.

[19] *Palaeographic Study*, p. 420.

[20] For the numerical indications of the signs see A.-H. GARDINER, *EG*, sign list, and *System der Hieroglyphenschrift*, pp. 171–417.

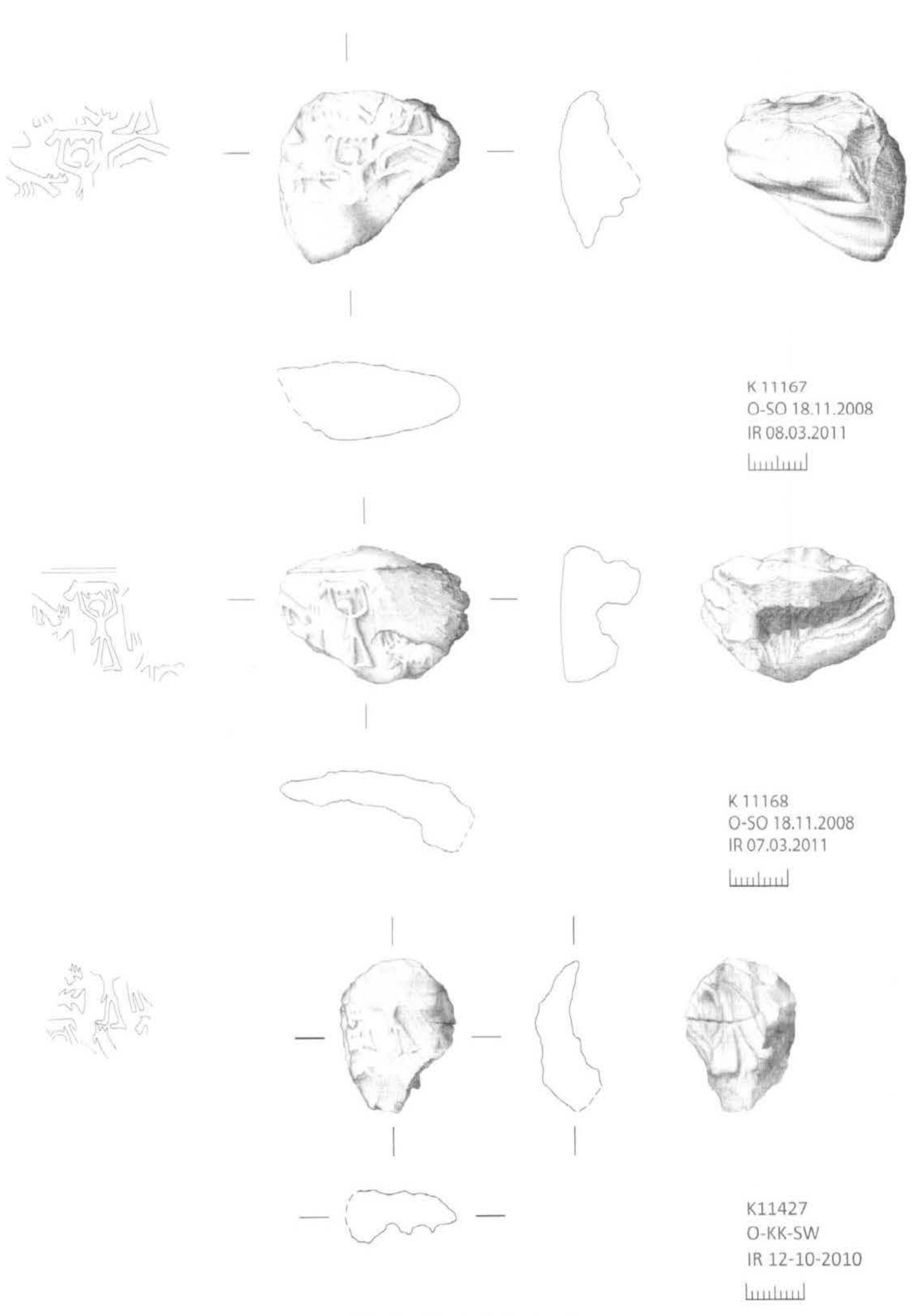


Abb. 14 Djer, individual sealings







Abb. 15 Djer, seal impression Ab K 11167 (left), seal impression Ab K 11168 (middle), seal impression Ab K 11427 (right)

but more of the other signs is preserved. The hieroglyph in front of the human figure can be identified as a mullet (K3)[21]. The tail of the bird can be seen above the fish. These signs belong to the upper register of the seal as the remnants of signs below indicate. In the lower register, the head of a bird is depicted below the feet of the human figure. The seal slipped slightly here, jeopardizing the identification of the bird.

The bird resembles the Helmeted/Sennâr Guinea fowl (G21); the so-called *nḥ*-bird in which case the protrusions on its head would be a stylized version of a crest[22]. A similar pronounced rendering of the crest can furthermore be seen on seal impressions from the reign of Den[23]. A diagnostic long wispy crest on the head is also a characteristic feature of an adult lapwing[24] but no resemblance with the existing lapwing signs (G23) from the reign of Djer can be seen[25]. A third possibility is the Hoopoe (G22; *ḏb*, *ḏb.t*, *db.t*)[26], which is not yet attested in the Early Dynastic period, however.

Preliminary analysis

The identical outline and composition of K 11168 and K 11427 confirm that they were created by the same seal. The preserved part of K 11167 resembles the previous two in content but is not identical to them. The impression could therefore represent another part of the sealing period (Fig. 13, possibility 1) or was made by a second seal (Fig. 13, possibility 2). In the first possibility, the bird on the left side of K 11167 should then be identified in accordance with the crest on its head (in K 11427). As mentioned above, the Early Dynastic sign repertoire does not provide a parallel for a bird with a tail showing such protrusions. This speaks in favour of identification of a species that was not yet represented in the early corpus; perhaps the Hoopoe or it could be a not yet attested palaeographic peculiarity of the period. In addition, the specification of the crest on the head rules out identification as a falcon. The angular sign above the body of the bird in K 11167 must be the foot of the human figure lifting the hippopotamus. Lastly, the space behind the upper human figure could be occupied with another version of the *sḫn-ꜣḫ*-title. Unfortunately, not enough is preserved to read the entire inscription.

The combination of a male human figure in interaction with a hippopotamus recalls slightly later depictions of the hippopotamus hunt depicted on seal impressions from the tomb of Den[27]. The latter are examples of the so-called festival seals[28] attested so far in the first half and the middle of the First Dynasty. A total of eight festival seals are known: two from the reign of Djer[29] and six from the reign of Den[30]. This type of seal generally depicts the king participating in a ritual performance as part of a royal festival. In some of the Den sealings, this also involves a hippopotamus[31]. In a sequence of events, the scenes show

[21] The closest palaeographic parallels are attested on seal impressions from the First Dynasty; *Palaeographic Study*, p. 471.

[22] A.-H. Gardiner, *EG*, p. 469; the conspicuous helmet on the crown of the bird has been improperly fashioned as this bird only has a single knob on the top of its head; P. F. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, Warminster 1986, p. 82. Nonetheless, this spurious detail is often repeated on other examples of the sign. The bird is depicted with two protuberances on the top of its head, instead of just one from the Predynastic period onwards.

[23] *IÄF* III, Abb. 150; G. Godron, *Deux notes d'épigraphie thinite*, in: *RdE* 8, 1951, p. 97, fig. 26; *Palaeographic Study*, p. 440.

[24] P. F. Houlihan, *a. a. O.*, p. 93.

[25] *Palaeographic Study*, p. 440.

[26] P. F. Houlihan, *a. a. O.*, p. 118.

[27] *IÄF* III, Abb. 364–365; *RT* I, Pl. 32.38–9; V. Müller, *Nilpferdjagd und geköpfte Feinde*, in: *Fs Dreyer*, pp. 477–493.

[28] Kaplony's *Festsiegel*; *IÄF* I, p. 129.

[29] *IÄF* III, Abb. 237; P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit. Supplement*, *ÄA* 9, Wiesbaden 1964, Abb. 1032. The date of the latter in the reign of Djer cannot be guaranteed as the impression does not contain a royal name.

[30] *IÄF* III, Abb. 211, 364, 365; *RT* I, Pl. 32.38–9; V. Müller, in: *Fs Dreyer*, pp. 477–493. It is to be expected that additional ones from Umm el-Qaab will be published in the future.

[31] *IÄF* III, Abb. 364–365; *RT* I, Pl. 39; V. Müller, in: *Fs Dreyer*, pp. 477–493.

(images of) the king in full combat with the hippo followed by the king spearing the hippo with bounded legs[32]. In both cases, the king is wearing the red Lower Egyptian crown. In additional scenes, the king wears the white crown and holds a sceptre in his right hand and a baton in his left. The 'gold' mentioned in the accompanying captions and the fact that the compositions are placed on a separate base line elucidates that not the king himself but statues or carved reliefs portraying the king are referred to[33]. The more elaborate label behind the standing king can be translated "The golden Horus, the Harpooner". On recently published parallels from the tomb of Den, bound enemies with decapitated heads between their feet can be seen in addition to the hunting of the hippopotamus scene[34]. These scenes illustrate the superhuman strength of the king who is seen wrestling with the hippo and harpooning it, a favourite narrative for centuries to come. The entire context can be reconstructed as one of slamming of the enemies and overcoming danger by the victorious king[35].

It has to be stressed again that those seal impressions all date to the reign of Den; such renderings of a hippopotamus hunt is unknown from the time of Djer. Festival seals from the reign of Djer show the king in his Heb-sed garment; either sitting on a throne, wearing the red or the white crown[36], or running towards a palace-like structure[37]. The king never interacts with a hippopotamus. Looking at the newly discovered Djer sealings more closely, a slightly different atmosphere seems to be represented. Rather than fighting and spearing the hippopotamus, the central figure lifts the animal above his head. Although the scene could equally be interpreted as a statement of power or victory over a possibly dangerous – and mainly heavy! – animal, the act depicted is by no means a violent one. In addition, royal regalia such as crowns or the Heb-sed garment, which would identify the male figure as the king, are missing. Instead, the figure has a pointed face (perhaps a mask?) and is wearing a penis sheath. The standing figure is thus probably a priest or at best, the king performing priestly duties. Lastly, the physical features of the animal on K 11168 could indicate it is pregnant or at least female.

It is in exactly these details that our seal impressions resemble part of the decoration on some earlier C-ware vessels discovered in cemetery U at Umm el-Qaab[38]. On a first vessel, the hippopotamus hunt is connected with the presentation of captured enemies, similar to the recently discovered seal impressions published by V. Müller. The protagonist is depicted with a penis sheath and two of the three hippos are clearly pregnant; their babies are specified inside their bellies[39]. On a second vessel, the hippos do not seem to be hunted (or kept on a leach) and the accompanying figures have been interpreted as pregnant women with bird-like faces[40]. Instead of the hippopotamus hunt and the presentation of enemies, the second vessel seems to render a ritual dance, perhaps related to the hunt, in which pregnant women wear masks in the form of a bird's face. Nonetheless, despite these significant differences in content and style, both vessels depict similar themes, which could be related to different phases of the same ritual.

The hippopotamus can thus be represented as both beneficial and harmful. In both vessels the pregnant state of either the hippopotamus and/or the woman reflects fertility, protection and prosperity, a characteristic so often connected to the female hip-

[32] *RT* I, Pl. 32.38–39; *IÄF* III, Abb. 364; V. Müller, in: *Fs Dreyer*, pp. 477–493. For similar and other representations in the Predynastic period, see S. Hendrickx/D. Depraetere, *A Theriomorphic Predynastic Stone Jar and Hippopotamus Symbolism*, in: S. Hendrickx et al. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Krakow, 28th August – 1st September 2002*, OLA 138, Leuven/Paris/Dudley 2004, pp. 816–819, Tables 1–3.

[33] V. Müller, in: *Fs Dreyer*, p. 487; see M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, ÄA 39, Wiesbaden 1984, p. 89, note 461, for further references, and *IÄF* III, Abb. 211 for a similar depiction of a statue of the king. On the Palermo stone, an entry from the reign of Den mentions the hippopotamus hunt (*recto* III.8); T. A. H. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and its Associated Fragments*, London/New York 2000, pp. 104, 112–113; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*, *Horae Soederblomianae* 3, Uppsala 1953, pp. 16, 29 (hereafter quoted as T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*); A. Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der alten Ägypter* I. *Katalog*, *Europäische Hochschulschriften* 38, Frankfurt 1996, docs. 53a, 71. L. Borchardt, *Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung des Alten Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte*, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte* 1, Berlin 1917, p. 36, note 4, argues that the erection of statues is referred to although this is not specifically mentioned as it is in other cases. T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 29, 41 and A. Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der alten Ägypter* II. *Textband*, *Europäische Hochschulschriften* 38, Frankfurt 1996, pp. 99–123, connect this entry to rituals during the celebrations of a festival.

[34] V. Müller, in: *Fs Dreyer*, pp. 478–480, Abb. 1–3.

[35] Cf. S. Hendrickx/D. Depraetere, *a. a. O.*, p. 815.

[36] *IÄF* III, Abb. 237.

[37] P. Kaplony, *IÄF Supplement*, Abb. 1032.

[38] R. Hartmann, in: *13./14./15. Bericht*, pp. 80–85, Abb. 5–6. For another Predynastic example see T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, Fig. 8 and p. 16, note 1 for further references on similar scenes on white cross-lined pottery.

[39] R. Hartmann, in: *13./14./15. Bericht*, p. 81, Abb. 5.

[40] *Ebd.*, pp. 82, 83, Abb. 6.

popotamus[41]. The animal's evil side can be responsible for the destruction of the whole crop in a very short time. How can those characteristics be connected to the funerary cult of king Djer and/or his entourage?

From Pyramid Text spell 324 (§ 522a), it is clear that a (female) hippopotamus (*db.t nḥḥ.wt*) can act against the deceased: "Hail to you, immortal she-hippopotamus! [Have] you [come] against Teti as an immortal she-hippopotamus? I have wrenched one of the two *ꜣms*-scepters of Horus from you [and have struck(?)] you with it."[42] A corrupted version of this idea could have survived into the Coffin Texts, as a noun *nḥḥ* is classified with a hippopotamus in spell 487: "I pray to the *nḥḥ*-hippopotamus: May you be content while navigating the *hnhnw*-bark."[43] It is important to remember that the bird with the crest on the head could be read *nḥ* (if G21)[44] or *db.t* (if G22)[45].

We do not have such written evidence from the Early Dynastic period but the iconographic evidence listed above suggest that rituals aiming at controlling the unpredictable character of the hippopotamus, which is potentially harmful to the deceased, already existed as part of early funerary cults.

A *sḫn-ꜣḫ* priest "who embraces/catches the *akh*-(spirit)"[46] could have played a part in those rituals. The exact meaning of this title is unclear and cannot be fully researched here. It is equally unclear whether *akh* already refers to the desired state in which the deceased wants to be transformed, as is expressed in later contexts[47]. As an *akh*, the deceased enjoys freedom of passage in and between this world and the next and is able to intercede with the gods on behalf of the living. But *akhs* could also be responsible for misfortunes of various sorts if offended. These deceased spirits could use their magical powers against other dead and even the living[48]. The attitude of the living towards existing spirits was therefore mixed and offerings to them were both reverential and pacifying. The so-called *sꜣḫ.w*-rituals, which should create a successful transition into the afterlife, were therefore usually accompanied with offering rituals.

It is difficult to apprehend how present this meaning was in the Early Dynastic period but numerous cylinder amulet seals display the same *ꜣḫ*-bird, looking backward at an overloaded offering table[49]. If the title refers to the priest lifting the hippopotamus, a relationship between the ambivalent characters of both the *akh* and the hippopotamus may be at play. This association is admittedly speculative and needs more research, but it is clear that the seal impressions under discussion refer to an ancient funerary ritual aimed at overcoming the chaotic powers that could harm the deceased's transformation into the afterlife. The exact significance and purpose of the ritual may have been lost already by the Old Kingdom when much of the religious and funerary discourse was canonised in writing.

I. R.

III. Grab des Wadj

III.1 Königskammer

Am Grab des Wadj wurde in einem Schnitt die Mauerkrone der Westwand der Königskammer noch einmal

[41] The positive powers of the female hippopotamus were celebrated in a festival known from the Old Kingdom onwards as *ḥb-Ḥḏ.t* "the festival of the White One"; *Wb* III, p. 212.2–3; W. Kaiser, *Zwei weitere ḥb-ḥḏ.t-Belege*, in: P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* II, Boston 1996, pp. 451–459; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 47–49.

[42] J. P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, Writings from the Ancient World* 23, Leiden/Boston 2005, 68 (§ 522a); cf. Ch. Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* VII, *OLA* 116, Leuven 2002–2003, p. 529.

[43] A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* VI, *OIP* 81, Chicago 1956, 66s [487]; R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* II, Warminster 1973–78, pp. 131–132, note 7; R. van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, *PÄ* 15, Leiden 2000, p. 239. For the wordplay with *nḥḥ* using a hippopotamus in Asyut, see U. Verhoeven, *"Der lebt nach dem Tod". Orthographisches und Biographisches in den Inschriftenfragmenten der Grabanlage M10.1 in Assiut*, in: H.-W. Fischer-Elfert/R. B. Parkinson, *Studies on the Middle Kingdom*, *Philippika* 41, Wiesbaden, 2013, pp. 221–228.

[44] A.-H. Gardiner, *EG*, p. 469.

[45] See *Wb* V, p. 434.

[46] K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu Altägyptischen Mysterienspielen*, *UGAÄ* 10, Leipzig 1928, pp. 193–194; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*, *ÄA* 45, Wiesbaden 1987, p. 227.

[47] G. Posener, *Les afārīt dans l'ancienne Egypte*, in: *MDAIK* 37, 1981, pp. 393–401; E. Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge 2011, p. 149; G. Englund, *Akh – une notion réligieuse*, Uppsala 1978, *passim*; R. Demarée, *The ꜣḫ-iqr-n-rꜥ stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*, *Egyptologische Uitgaven* III, Leiden 1983, *passim*; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *„Horizont" und „Verklärtheit". Zur Bedeutung der Wurzel ꜣḫ*, in: *SAK* 23, 1996, pp. 201–215; N. Harrington, *Living with the Dead. Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, *Studies in Funerary Archaeology* 6, Oxford 2012, pp. 22, 147.

[48] Evidence for this type of belief comes mostly from the magical papyri and the Letters to the Dead which allude to the behaviors of unnamed spirits who may bring illness and are suspected of evil deeds.

[49] H. W. Müller, *Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches. Ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre Komposition*, in: *MDAIK* 4, 1933, p. 176; F. W. von Bissing, *Der Tote vor dem Opfertisch*, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 2, München 1952, p. 52; M. M. F. Mostafa, *Untersuchungen zu Opfertafeln im Alten Reich*, *HÄB* 17, Hildesheim 1982, p. 11; I. Regulski, *Egypt's Early Dynastic Cylinder Seals Reconsidered*, in: *BiOr* 68, 2011, pp. 5–32.

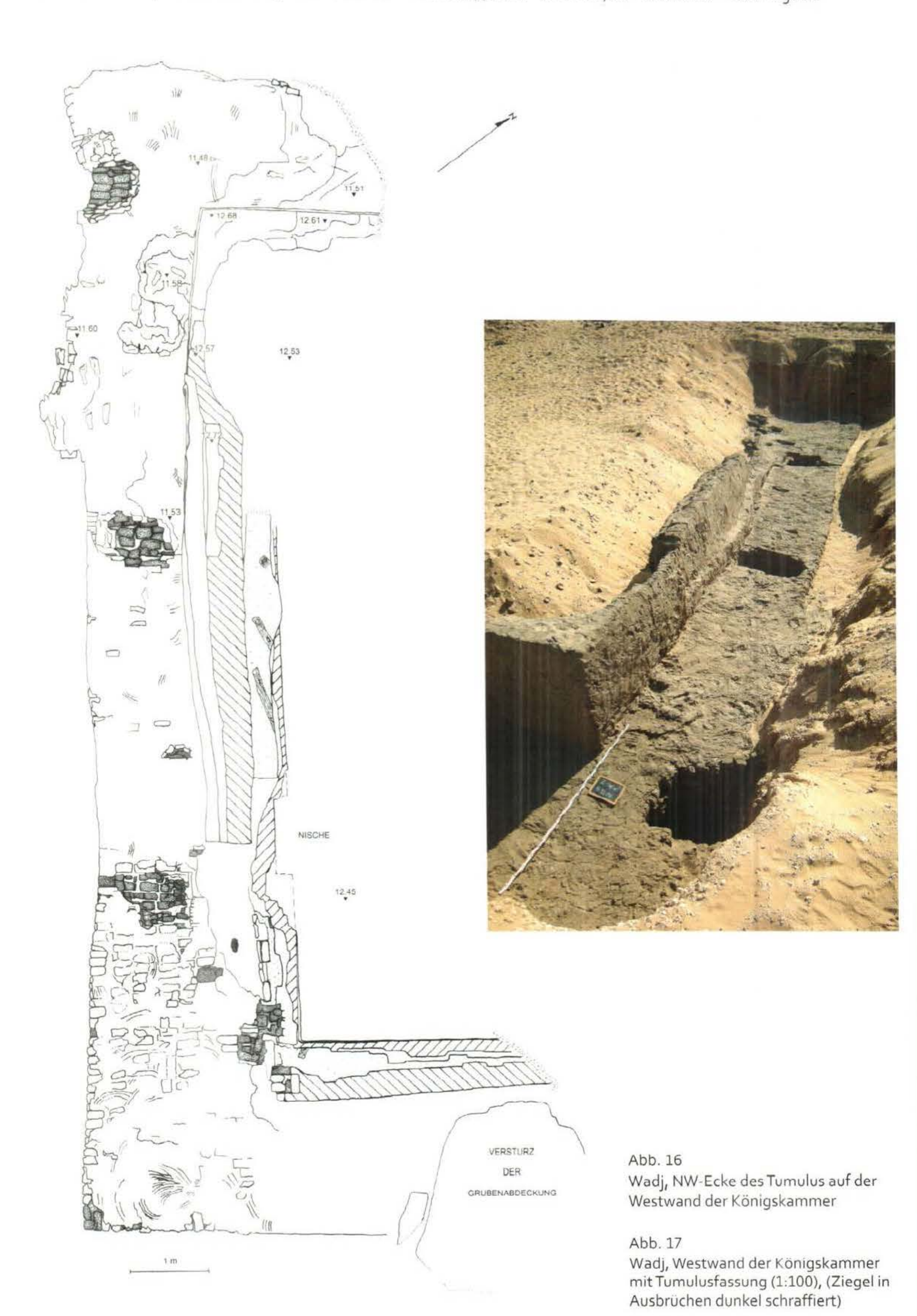


Abb. 16
Wadj, NW-Ecke des Tumulus auf der Westwand der Königskammer

Abb. 17
Wadj, Westwand der Königskammer mit Tumulusfassung (1:100), (Ziegel in Ausbrüchen dunkel schraffiert)



Abb. 18
Wadj, Mattenabdruck auf der Tumulusfassung

freigelegt[50], um Nachmessungen für einen neuen Gesamtplan von Umm el-Qaab vorzunehmen. Sie ist 15 m lang und ca. 2,50 m breit (Abb. 16, 17). Bis auf einige kleinere Ausbrüche ist die Mauer gut erhalten und auch der ca. 2–3 cm starke Verputz noch vorhanden. An der NW-Ecke reicht er etwas über die Außenkanten des Mauerwerks hinaus und ist dort über Ziegelbruch bzw. Füllsand der Baugrube verstrichen.

Von dem (unterhalb des Wüstenniveaus) in der Grabgrube über der Königskammer errichteten Tumulus[51] wurde zudem die NW-Ecke aufgedeckt, die bei den früheren Untersuchungen noch nicht sichtbar gewesen war. Sie steht noch bis zur ursprünglichen Höhe von ca. 1,20 m an und ist nur auf der Außenseite und an der Oberkante verputzt. Die Länge des nördlichen Abschnitts der Tumulusfassung, die den südlichen Abschnitt in Höhe der Scheintür überlappt, beträgt an der Basis 8,10 m, die Gesamtlänge des Tumulus 11,15 m. Bei der Bauaufnahme (Abb. 17)[52] war eine Reihe von alten Arbeitsspuren festzustellen:

Mattenabdruck

Auf der westlichen Seite der Tumulusfassung, etwa 1 m von der nordwestlichen Ecke entfernt, ist auf dem Verputz noch ein etwa 20 cm langer Mattenabdruck zu sehen, auf dem die Einzelheiten des Flechtwerks gut erhalten sind (Abb. 18). Obwohl die Nutzung von solchen Matten während der letzten Bauphase der Tumulusfassung nicht ausgeschlossen ist, kann dieser Abdruck auch durch Zufall hier gelandet sein. Die Matte scheint für einen kurzen Moment auf dem noch frischen Verputz unter einem gewissen Gewicht angedrückt worden zu sein: Vielleicht hat sich ein Arbeiter kurz darauf gesetzt oder gestützt, als die Lehmschicht unter der Matte noch nicht trocken war. Wie in der Publikation von W. M. F. Petrie schon bemerkt wird: „This wall is roughly built, not intended to be a visible feature."[53]

Fingerspuren

Auf dem Verputz der Mauerkrone gibt es zahlreiche Fingerspuren, von denen manche tief in der frischen *mûna* eingedrückt sind. Auf der südwestlichen Ecke haben sie die Form gebogener Linien, hier wollte man vielleicht geringe Unebenheiten ausgleichen. In einem Bereich sind diese kleinen Furchen sehr konzentriert, als hätte man versucht, Material zusammen zu schaben (Abb. 19, links).

Fußspuren

Vor allem im nördlichen Abschnitt der Mauerkrone finden sich viele Fußspuren (Abb. 19, rechts). Der Verputz wirkt noch sehr frisch verschmiert, die Abdrücke sind wohl infolge flüchtiger Arbeit hinterlassen. Hier waren Arbeiter beschäftigt, die unterschiedlich alt, groß und schwer waren (bzw. unterschiedlich schwer trugen). Von nahem sieht das ganze Bild sehr unordentlich aus.

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[50] Für die frühere Aufnahme (1988) vgl. G. Dreyer, *Zur Rekonstruktion der Oberbauten der Königsgräber der 1. Dynastie in Abydos*, in: *MDAIK* 47, 1991, S. 93–104.

[51] Rekonstruktion vgl. *ebd.*, S. 99 Abb. 7.

[52] Ergänzungen der Innenseite nach der Aufnahme von J. Lindemann bei G. Dreyer, in: *MDAIK* 47, 1991, S. 98 Abb. 6.

[53] *RT* I, S. 9.





Abb. 19 Wadj, Fingerspuren auf der südwestlichen Ecke der Mauerkrone (links) und Fußspuren auf der Mauerkrone (rechts)

Die Spuren folgen keinem bestimmten Weg. Obwohl solche Spuren nicht selten vorkommen, sieht es insbesondere an der nordwestlichen Ecke so aus, als hätte man die Arbeit am Grab schnell beenden müssen.

III.2 Funde

Während der Freilegung der Mauerkrone wurden an Kleinfunden unter anderem mehrere Einlagefragmente, ein kleines Möbelfußfragment, ein kleines zylindrisches Elfenbeingefäß, einige Pfeilspitzen und Kupferblechstückchen geborgen, außerdem eine Reihe von Steingefäßscherben und größere Mengen an Keramik.

Eine vollständige Bierflasche wurde im großen Loch der Mauerkrone entdeckt, etwa 1,50 m von der nordwestlichen Ecke entfernt. Ihr etwas unerwarteter Fundort und der gute Erhaltungszustand sprechen dafür, dass sie auf jeden Fall zum Grabkomplex des Wadj gehörte, und eher aus der Königskammer stammt als aus einem Nebengrab.

Ovoide Flasche mit Rundboden Z-NW/1 (Abb. 20a–b)
Ø Rand 10 cm, Ø Hals 9,8 cm, Ø max. ±19 cm, Höhe 33,4 cm, Wandst. 0,7–1,5 cm.

Nilton (Nile C)[54], Oberfläche 10R 6/3–4, im unteren Teil auch 7.5R 5/4, mit heller Tonschicht auf dem



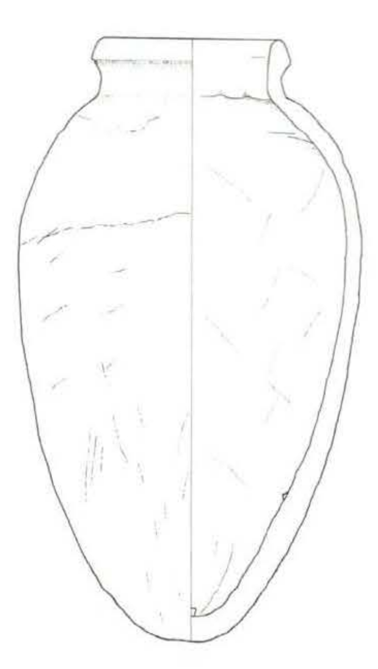


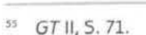
Abb. 20a–b
Flasche (1:8)

[54] Für ihre Hinweise zur Keramik danke ich R. HARTMANN sehr herzlich.

größten Teil der oberen Seite, die vom Verschluss entstanden ist. Mündung nach außen umgeschlagen und in Form eines regelmäßigen Wulstes angedrückt, Hals kantig vom Körper abgesetzt, Schulter unregelmäßig, Boden rund abgespalten. Ein paar kleine Ritzlinien sind auf der unteren Seite zu sehen, die offenbar vor dem Brand gemacht wurden. Vgl. W. B. EMERY, Type B 6 (grob)[55]; V. MÜLLER, T/3 (Mergelton)[56].

Unter den Keramikfragmenten fand sich eine Scherbe mit Tintenaufschrift, die von einer ovoiden Flasche stammen dürfte. Herkunft: Z-W (Abb. 21).

Mergelton (Marl A1; originale Oberfläche 10R 6/4; Wandstärke in Höhe der Aufschrift 7 mm. Auf der Schulter, etwa 4,5 cm unter dem Hals, ist eine schwarze Tintenaufschrift von rechts nach links zu lesen, die den *Serech* des Wadj und eine Kolumne von vier Zeichen zeigt. Diese Zeichen sind schon von drei Siegelabrollungen aus dem gleichen Grabkomplex bekannt[57]. Es handelt sich um den Namen des höchstrangigen Beamten seiner Zeit, des Domänenverwalters[58] Sechemkasedj[59], der auf einem Anhängetäfelchen des Djer erwähnt wird[60] und der in Saqqara viel beschriftetes Material hinterlassen hat[61]. Sechemkasedj hat sicher eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Bestattung des Wadj gespielt[62].



P. M.*

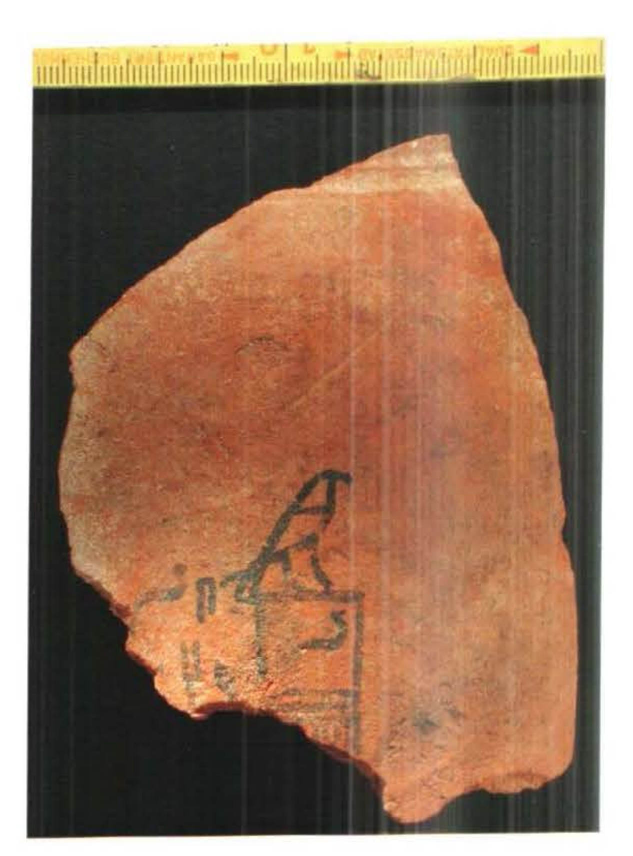




Abb. 21 Tintenaufschrift des Sechemkasedj (1:1)[63]

[55] *GT* II, S. 71.

[56] V. MÜLLER, in: *11./12. Bericht*, S. 105–106, Abb. 20d.

[57] *RT* I, Pls. 18:5–6 und 19.7 (= *IÄF* III, Abb. 99A, 189 und 192).

[58] *IÄF* I, S. 85–89 und 106–111; T. WILKINSON, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, London 1999, S. 146–147; D. JONES, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, *BARIntSer* 866, Oxford 2000, Bd. I, S. 359–360 (Nr. 1333) und Bd. II, S. 602 (Nr. 2209).

[59] Die Lautzeichen *sḏ* am Anfang sind etwas umstritten: Erst von W. B. EMERY, *GT* II, S. 103 als Abkürzung für den Titel „Siegler" verstanden, dann von W. HELCK, *Drei Stücke aus einer Privatsammlung*, in: *ZÄS* 83, 1958, S. 95, von P. KAPLONY, *IÄF* I, S. 635, und wieder W. HELCK, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*, *ÄA* 45, Wiesbaden 1987, S. 156 und DERS., *Wadj*, in: *LÄ* VI, Sp. 1126–1127 und J. KAHL, *System der Hieroglyphenschrift*, S. 700 Anm. 2052 als Teil des Namens verstanden (Lesungen: *Sḫḏ-kꜣ* bzw. *Sḫm-kꜣ-sḏ*, *Swḏ-kꜣ* und *Sḫm-kꜣ-ḏwwt* (?)). Die Lesung von P. KAPLONY, also ein Name Sechem-ka-Sedj „Mächtig ist der Ka des (Gottes) *Sedj*" scheint am wahrscheinlichsten, besonders wenn man den gleichzeitigen Namen Hetep-Sedj in Betracht zieht (Grab der Meret-Neith, vgl. *RT* I, Pls. 23.40–41 = *IÄF* III, Abb. 106 und 73), bzw. auch Namen des Alten Reiches wie Sechem-ka-Ra oder Sechem-ka-Hor (H. RANKE, *PN* I, 319, 19–20). Das Wort *sḏ* ist aber sicher nicht die Bezeichnung eines Gottes als „Zögling" (contra *IÄF* I, S. 597), sondern eher eine Schriftvariante für den Namen des Gottes Sed (*LGG* VI, S. 715), dessen Geburt für das Jahr x+11 des Dewen auf dem Palermo-Stein erwähnt wird. Vermutlich ist Sed ein älterer Name des Upuaut, vgl. E. BROVARSKI, *Sed*, in: *LÄ* V, Sp. 779 und T. WILKINSON, *a. a. O.*, S. 294. Die Identifizierung des senkrechten Zeichens (zwischen den beiden Armen) war einst umstritten, die feine Inschrift des Namens auf einem Elfenbeinfragment aus Saqqara (*GT* II, S. 104 Abb. 106) ist aber dem Szepter S42 am ähnlichsten, vgl. auch *Palaeographic Study*, S. 185 und 626.

[60] Vgl. *RT* II, S. 28 und Pl. XII.3.

[61] Mastaba Saqqara 3504, vgl. *GT* II, S. 102–118, bes. 111–114 für ähnliche Tintenaufschriften des Sechemkasedj. Dieses Grab wird oft als sein eigenes betrachtet, vgl. aber dagegen E. F. MORRIS, *On the Ownership of the Saqqara Mastabas and the Allotment of Political and Ideological Power at the Dawn of the State*, in: Z. A. HAWASS/J. RICHARDS (Hrsg.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt. Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, *CASAE* 36/II, Le Caire 2007, S. 171–190, bes. 178–179.

[62] Im November 2012 wurden im Bereich Z-3NO bzw. Z-2NO zwei Scherben mit ähnlicher Aufschrift gefunden. Diese Aufschriften sind noch unklar, sie gehen aber unter dem Serech des Königs und unter dem Namen des Beamten weiter. Wenn künftig weitere Exemplare auftauchen, sollte es möglich sein, die ganze Aufschrift zu rekonstruieren.

[63] Die Behauptung „In all cases, | is oriented towards (I10)" (*Palaeographic Study*, S. 182), ist also nicht ganz richtig. Für einen anderen Beleg des Namens mit dem *s* (S29) so orientiert, vgl. *GT* II, S. 104 Fig. 107.

* Für ihre hilfreiche Verbesserung meines deutschen Textes danke ich Frau J. GIESE sehr herzlich.

IV. Grab des Dewen/Den

IV.1 Restaurierungsarbeiten

An der während früherer Kampagnen restaurierten Königskammer des Dewen[64] waren infolge von Windschliff, Setzungen des Mauerwerks und nicht zuletzt auch durch nistende Vögel sowie unachtsame Besucher einige Schäden entstanden, die erneute Restaurierungsmaßnahmen erforderten.

Zur Verbesserung des Gesamteindrucks wurden dabei in der 24. Kampagne die durch alte Setzungen unterschiedlich abgesackten Oberkanten der Deckenfassung auf der Nord- und Westwand bis zum ursprünglichen Niveau ergänzt. Damit sollte zugleich der stellenweise noch original erhaltene Verputz, der in der ersten Restaurierung noch sichtbar geblieben war[65], vor weiterer Verwitterung geschützt werden. Die Ansätze der beiden Rippen auf der Westwand, die wahrscheinlich einen Scheinausgang aus dem Tumulus über der Grabkammer markierten[66], wurden in der neuen Deckschicht nachmodelliert. Die gesamte Deckenfassung wurde anschließend einheitlich neu verputzt (Abb. 22).

In der NW-Ecke der Königskammer wurde außerdem das im oberen Abschnitt freiliegende alte Mauerwerk mit neuen Ziegeln abgemauert, um den andauernden Nestbau tausender Spatzen zu verhindern. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wurden auch die Hohlräume der verbrannten oberen Fixierbalken des großen Holzschreins[67] im Umriss ergänzt.

Nach Reinigungsarbeiten und kleineren Reparaturen am Zugang zur Königskammer und im SW-Annex wurde die Rekonstruktion mit neuen Übersichtsaufnahmen und zahlreichen Detailphotos, insbesondere der Holzdecken über der großen Eingangstreppe und der Statuenkammer des SW-Annexes, von F. Barthel umfassend dokumentiert (Abb. 23–24).

G. D.

IV.2 Fundbearbeitung (Prestige-Objekte)

IV.2.1 Fancy-Gefäße

Bislang unerwähnt unter den Grabbeigaben blieb die große Anzahl von sogenannten Fancy-Gefäßen, meist aus grünem Siltstein hergestellten Steingefäßen, deren ungewöhnliche Formen oder Oberflächengestaltungen namensgebend sind. E. Amélineau hat wenige vollständige Stücke gefunden, jedoch viele Fragmente in seiner Publikation abgebildet[68]. Hiervon ist das heute in Berlin befindliche Exemplar, das ein untersetzt ellipsoid gestaltetes Steingefäß[69] innerhalb eines Tragenetzes zeigt, welches an beiden Seiten oben verschnürt ist, eines der bekanntesten[70]. Ein Großteil dieser Stücke kam mit anderem Material aus E. Amélineaus Grabungen nach Brüssel und etliche Fragmente wurden vor rund zwanzig Jahren publiziert[71]. Sehr viel weniger bekannt ist hingegen, dass auch W. M. F. Petrie viele Fragmente geborgen hat, da in seinen beiden Monographien zu den Königsgräbern nur wenige Stücke abgebildet sind[72], der Großteil aber bislang unpubliziert blieb[73]. Dass er vorhatte diesen Gefäßen eine eigene Studie zu widmen, hat er in einem kurzen Kommentar zu einem dieser Stücke vermerkt: „26 is a piece of carved slate; the great variety of carved slate is left to be worked up in future."[74]

Genau wie bei den anderen Objektgruppen kamen bei den Nachuntersuchungen des DAI auch von den Fancy-Gefäßen sowohl Fragmente zutage, welche die bereits von E. Amélineau und W. M. F. Petrie gefundenen Stücke ergänzen, als auch solche, die zu bislang unbekannten Formen gehören. Gefunden wurden über 500 Fragmente[75], die von mindestens 100 verschiedenen Gefäßen stammen. Die meisten davon weisen eine glatte Oberfläche auf, waren aber zu ungewöhnlichen Formen gestaltet, wie Ab K 1100 (Abb. 25a), das eventuell eine Blüte oder ein Gebinde

[64] Siehe *9./10. Bericht*, S. 146, Taf. 11a–c; *11./12. Bericht*, S. 97–98, Taf. 11a; *13./14./15. Bericht*, S. 88–89, Taf. 17a–c.

[65] *13./14./15. Bericht*, Taf. 17c.

[66] Vgl. G. Dreyer, in: *MDAIK* 47, 1991, S. 93–104, Rekonstruktionszeichnung Abb. 7.

[67] Vgl. *9./10. Bericht*, S. 142, Abb. 32.

[68] *NF* I, pls. XXVII–XXVIII; *NF* II, pl. XVI; *NF* III, pls. IX, XXXI, L.

[69] Diese Gefäßform allein ist durch mehrere Exemplare aus Stein und aus Keramik in Abydos belegt; zu einem Exemplar aus Dolomit, siehe etwa *RT* II, Pl. LIE/283. Die Steingefäße aus dem Grab des Dewen – mit Ausnahme der Fancy-Formen – werden derzeit von Robert Kuhn im Rahmen seiner Dissertation bearbeitet.

[70] Berlin ÄMP 17967. Wie wenige andere Fancy-Gefäße besteht es aus Dolomit.

[71] S. Hendrickx/C. van Winkel, *Fragments de récipients décorés en pierre provenant de la nécropole royale des premières dynasties à Abydos (Haute-Égypte)*, in: *BMRAH* 64, 1993, S. 5–38 (im Folgenden als S. Hendrickx/C. von Winkel, *Récipients décorés* zitiert); S. Hendrickx, *Two Protodynastic Objects in Brussels and the Origin of the Bilobate Cult-sign of Neith*, in: *JEA* 82, 1996, S. 23–42.

[72] *RT* I, Pls. XII/10, XXXVII/26–28, XXXVIII/1–3; *RT* II, Pls. V/12 und 15, VI/27, VIA/22–26, IX/12, L/151.

[73] Noch kurz vor ihrem Tod im Jahre 2002 hatte Barbara Adams ein Manuskript zu den weitgehend im University College London verbliebenen Stücken erstellt, das derzeit in der Reihe *SAGA* zur Publikation vorbereitet wird.

[74] *RT* I, S. 28.

[75] Freundlicherweise wurden mir von E.-M. Engel die Stücke aus den Gräbern des Qa'a und des Semerchet zur Bearbeitung überlassen und von A. Pokorny und G. Dreyer die aus dem Grab des Chasechemui. Einige verworfene Stücke aus dem U-Friedhof (Abb. 28) übergab mir U. Hartung. Allen sei hier herzlichst gedankt.

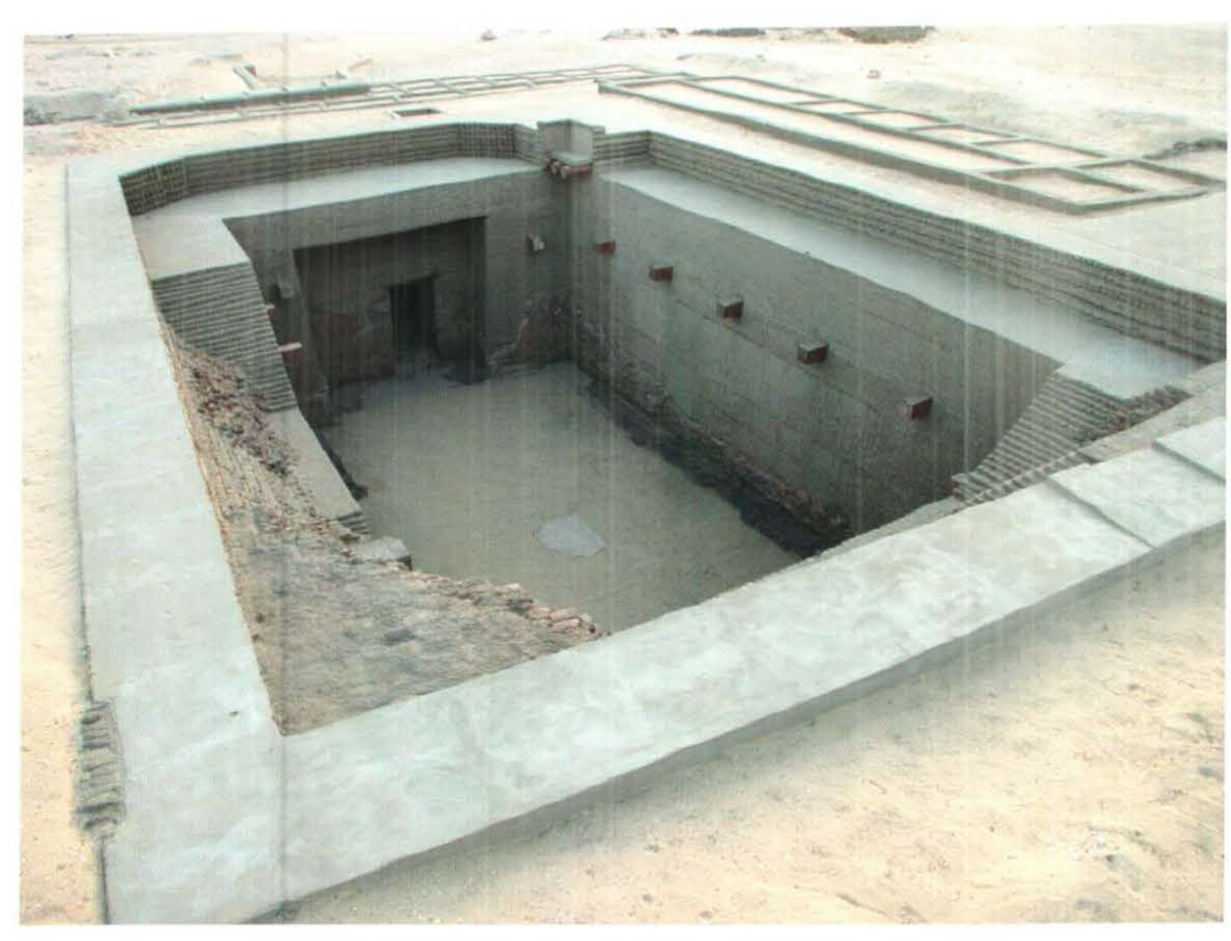


Abb. 22 Dewen, Königskammer nach Abschluss der Restaurierung (von NW)



Abb. 23 Dewen, restaurierte Treppe

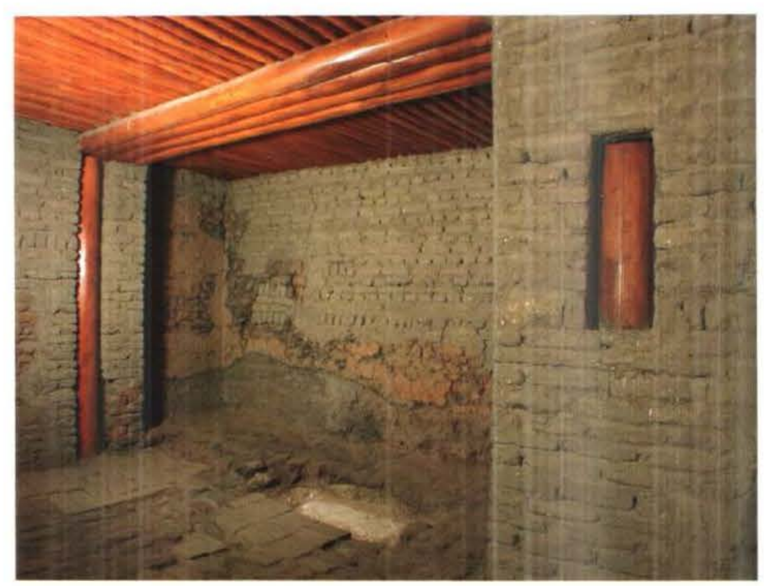


Abb. 24 Dewen, restaurierte Statuenkammer

b) Fancy-Gefäß Ab K 6195 aus U-W 9 (Semerchet)

a) Fancy-Gefäß Ab K 1100 aus U-z Süd (U-Friedhof)

5 cm

0

c) Fancy-Gefäß Ab K 550 aus T-S (Dewen)



d) Fancy-Gefäß Ab K 5012a aus
T-OO + T-S (2x) + U-N (Dewen und Semerchet)



f) Fancy-Gefäß Ab K 5034a aus T-W (Dewen)



e) Fancy-Gefäß Ab K 5015
aus T-N + T-S/U (Dewen)



g) Fancy-Gefäß Ab K 5027b
aus T-OO + T-W + T-SW + Q-SO (Dewen und Qa'a)

Abb. 25 Fancy-Gefäße

aus Blättern darstellt. Bislang einzigartig ist die eher schlicht gestaltete Schale Ab K 6195 (Abb. 25b), deren Rand beidseitig mit Blattgold belegt ist, das auf der Innenfläche eine schwach erhabene, reliefierte Leiste überdeckt. Das sehr dünne Blattgold ist auf feinem Stoff aufgebracht, der mit einer harzigen Substanz auf dem Stein aufgeklebt wurde.

Ein komplexes Gefäß mit dekoriertem Rand, Ab K 550 (Abb. 25c), ist mit mehreren anpassenden Stücken und einem zweiten sehr ähnlichen in Brüssel[76] belegt. Ebenfalls in Brüssel befindet sich ein Fragment, das zu einem Gefäß in Form eines Djed-Pfeilers gehören dürfte[77]. Das neu gefundene Stück Ab K 5012a (Abb. 25d) fügt dabei auf dem Photo direkt an die untere Kante des Brüsseler Stückes an. Während es auf der dargestellten Außenseite mit feinen vertikalen Ritzlinien versehen ist, blieb es auf der Innenseite undekoriert. Sehr häufig kommen auch Imitationen von Blättern und Körben vor. Besonders gerne werden hierbei Weinblätter und Feigenblätter dargestellt. Beide Pflanzenarten waren erst wenige Jahrhunderte zuvor nach Ägypten eingeführt worden und dürften einen hohen Stellenwert besessen haben. Zu einem Weinblatt gehörte das kleine Randfragment Ab K 5015 (Abb. 25e), das auf der dargestellten Außenseite erhabene Blattrispen aufweist und auf der Innenseite an entsprechender Stelle je zwei parallele Ritzlinien.

Ebenfalls mehrfach belegt sind Hände, die Schalen umfassen oder gar in die Behältnisse übergehen. Bei dem Stück Ab K 5034a (Abb. 25f) ist nicht nur der Daumen mit seiner charakteristischen Biegung sehr sorgfältig herausgearbeitet, sondern innerhalb der Fingernägel wurde selbst die Nagelhaut in feinem Relief wiedergegeben. Die perfekte Gestaltung ist leider durch die Brandeinwirkung, den Windschliff und die abgeplatzte Oberfläche im Bereich des Handrückens etwas beeinträchtigt. Ein qualitativer Unterschied wird beim Vergleich zu dem Fragment Ab K 5027b (Abb. 25g) deutlich, das einen von Ka-förmig gestalteten Armen eingefassten Korb wiedergibt. Die Finger sind hier deutlich wulstiger und unförmiger ausgeführt. Der Korb ist durch schlichte parallele Ritzlinien auf der Außenseite gestaltet, die in Abständen durch schmale Querstreben unterbrochen werden, und blieb auf der Innenfläche glatt. Die dunkelrötlichbraune Farbe des Siltsteins ist dem Brand geschuldet, die grüne Ursprungsfarbe des Steins zeigt sich noch im Kern.

IV.2.2 Keramik

Eine wesentliche Gruppe von Keramikgefäßen aus dem Grab des Dewen, auf die bislang in den Vorberichten noch nicht weiter eingegangen wurde, stellen aus der Levante importierte Krüge und Flaschen dar. Sowohl E. Amélineau[78] als auch W. M. F. Petrie[79] hatten einzelne Stücke abgebildet und da sie bis zu den Ausgrabungen der frühdynastischen Elitegräber in Saqqara nur vereinzelt vorkamen, wurde sehr früh die unglückliche Bezeichnung *Abydos-Ware* eingeführt[80]. Diese Gefäße sind jedoch weder in Abydos hergestellt worden, noch sind sie auf den Fundplatz Abydos beschränkt. Unter den bislang publizierten Stücken dominiert vielmehr der frühzeitliche Friedhof von Saqqara, wobei diese Art von Gefäßen auch an anderen Orten gefunden wurde, wie etwa Abusir, Minshat Abu Omar, Tell el-Farkha oder Helwan[81].

Durch die Neuuntersuchungen des DAI kamen mittlerweile alleine im Umfeld des Grabes von Dewen Fragmente von ca. 250 importierten Gefäßen zutage, die eine große Bandbreite an Varianten in Form und Gestaltung der Oberflächen zeigen. Es ist daher sehr

[76] Das vorliegende Stück passt unmittelbar an E.8785b und ist hier zeichnerisch bereits rekonstruiert, siehe S. Hendrickx/C. von Winkel, *Récipients décorés*, S. 14–15, fig. 4. Für das zweite, sehr ähnliche Stück (Brüssel E.8785a) siehe *ebd.*, S. 14–15, fig. 5 und 11.

[77] Brüssel E.4841, siehe *a. a. O.*, S. 13, fig. 3 und 12.

[78] *NF* I, pls. II/02–03, XIII/04.

[79] Für ein Fragment mit gekämmter Oberfläche stellte W. M. F. Petrie einen Zusammenhang mit Palästina her, *RT* I, S. 28, Pl. XXXVIII/09. Vor allem für die bemalten Varianten, aber auch für die polierten nahm W. M. F. Petrie eine Herkunft in der Ägäis an, *RT* II, S. 46–47, Pl. LIV; *Abydos* I, Pl. VIII.

[80] Auch die neuere Bezeichnung ‚*Metallic Ware*' ist nicht besonders geschickt gewählt, da sie sich auf den Klang des Scherbens beim Anklicken mit dem Fingernagel bezieht. Doch ist diese subjektive Eigenschaft sehr unterschiedlich in der großen Varianz von Gefäßen und Formen ausgeprägt und eignet sich beim meist verbrannten Material aus Abydos überhaupt nicht.

[81] Eine Zusammenstellung der bis 2002 bekannten Importe findet sich in S. Hendrickx/L. Bavay, *The Relative Chronological Position of Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic Tombs with Objects Imported from the Near East and the Nature of Interregional Contacts*, in: E. C. M. van den Brink/T. E. Levy (Hrsg.), *Egypt and the Levant. Interrelations from the 4th through the Early 3rd Millennium B.C.E.*, London/New York 2002, S. 58–80. Zu ergänzen hinsichtlich Abydos ist hierzu T. Nakano, *Abydos Ware and the Location of the Egyptian First Dynasty Royal Tombs*, in: *Orient* 33, 1998, S. 1–32. Für die Gefäße aus Tell el-Farkha siehe M. F. Ownby, *Petrographic Analysis of Pottery from Tell el-Farkha*, in: A. Maczynska (Hrsg.), *The Nile Delta as a Centre for Cultural Interactions between Upper Egypt and the Southern Levant in the 4th Millennium. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Poznan, June 2013*, *Studies in African Archaeology* 13, Poznán 2014, S. 217–235. Für die Gefäße aus Helwan siehe E. C. Köhler/M. F. Ownby, *Levantine Imports and their Imitations from Helwan*, in: *Ä&L* 21, 2011, S. 31–46; E. C. Köhler/J.-P. Thalmann, *Synchronising Early Egyptian Chronologies and the Northern Levant*, in: F. Hölfmayer/R. Eichmann (Hrsg.), *Egypt and the Southern Levant in the Early Bronze Age*, *Orient-Archäologie* 31, Rahden, Westf. 2014, S. 181–206.

wahrscheinlich, dass diese Varianz ein weitläufiges Netz ehemaliger Herstellungsorte in der Levante reflektiert[82].

In der Oberflächengestaltung sind gekämmte Oberflächen, ganzflächige Polituren (Abb. 26), vertikale lockere Strichpolitur sowie Politurstriche in Netzdekor (Abb. 27) belegt und einige wenige tragen in der oberen Gefäßhälfte eine rote oder schwarze Bemalung auf hellem Untergrund (Abb. 29). An Dekoren verwendete man Wellenlinien, Zickzack-Linien oder Fischgräten-Muster zwischen einfachen Linien sowie mit Punkten gefüllte Dreiecke. Die Formen variieren zwischen schlanken Krügen mit engen Hälsen, die entweder einen von der Mündung zur Schulter führenden Henkel hatten und zwei bis drei kleine Scheinhenkelchen auf dem Bauch aufweisen, und gedrungenen Gefäßen, die häufig zwei Henkel in Bauchhöhe haben. Hergestellt wurden die Krüge entweder im Handaufbau oder auf der Scheibe, gelegentlich wurden handaufgebaute Gefäße auf der Scheibe nachgedreht.

Inhaltsanalysen an einzelnen Stücken, die aus den Grabungen W. M. F. Petries ins Ashmolean Museum in Oxford gelangten, zeigten, dass diese Gefäße vorwiegend für den Transport von Fetten, Ölen und Harzen verwendet wurden[83]. Die meisten Krüge und Kannen aus dem Grabbereich des Dewen sind verbrannt, in etlichen waren noch verbrannte Inhaltsreste vorhanden, die nach den visuellen Beobachtungen von G. Dreyer mit ziemlicher Sicherheit als Rückstände von Öl identifiziert werden dürfen. Wie bereits öfter berichtet, waren im Grab des Dewen ausschließlich die Königskammer und die Statuenkammer vom Brand betroffen, wo sich vermutlich der wertvollste Teil der Grabausstattung befand, zu welchem importierte Öle sicherlich zu rechnen sind. In der NO-Ecke der Kammer blieben zwischen den Abdrücken von Balken des Schreins auch solche von Stein- und Importgefäßen erhalten sowie mehrere im öldurchtränkten sandigen Untergrund stecken gebliebene Böden und Unterteile von Importkrügen[84]. Viele der Gefäße weisen eine stark zerfressene Innenfläche auf (Abb. 28), was auf einen eher aggressiven Inhalt weist, wofür manche Öle in Frage kommen. Interessanterweise ist es gerade diese Gefäßform, die in der Folge zu einem der typischen Klassifikatoren (W9 nach Gardiner) für die Schreibung von Ölen wird. Aber nicht alle Importgefäße zeigen diese Indikatoren, etliche haben vielmehr eine intakte Innenfläche. Dies wiederum weist entweder auf weniger aggressive Öle oder – und hierfür scheinen einige, diesen Gefäßen zugehörige gesiegelte Verschlüsse (siehe unten) zu sprechen – auf Wein als Importgut. Falls diese Annahme stimmt, so ergibt sich daraus eine Praxis, die auch für spätere Perioden bekannt ist: Trotz des eigenständigen Anbaus von Wein – und hierfür sprechen ca. 1300 aus ägyptischem Ton hergestellte Weinkrüge allein aus dem Grab des Dewen –, gab es offensichtlich noch bestimmte ausländische Weinsorten, die als begehrenswert galten. Allerdings zeigen die Analysen der Oxford-Krüge auch, dass mit sekundären Inhalten, d. h. mit einer Wiederbefüllung, zu rechnen ist[85]. In dem einen nachgewiesenen Fall bestand der ursprüngliche Inhalt vermutlich aus einem vegetabilen Öl (möglicherweise unter Zugabe von Tierfett) und der sekundäre Inhalt aus Harz. Da das definitiv aus der Levante stammende Harz als zweiter Inhalt auftritt, muss demnach das zuerst vorhandene Öl ebenfalls aus demselben Raum kommen[86].

IV.2.3 Siegel

IV.2.3.1 Der Weingarten „südliches śẖꜥ"

Auf mehreren Gefäßverschlüssen aus Nilschlamm, die ihrer Form nach an kein ägyptisches Gefäß, dafür an die große Variante von Importgefäßen anpassen (Abb. 30, 31), sind mit einem Siegel versehen, das abwechselnd das Serech von Dewen und den Weingarten „südlich von *śẖꜥ*" oder „südliches *śẖꜥ*" nennen, ein Begriff, der bislang unbekannt ist, aber womöglich eine Ortsangabe nennt[87]. Im Siegel selbst war offensichtlich ein Riss, da immer an derselben Stelle eine vertikale Linie aufscheint. Auf der Rückseite des Verschlusses Ab K 306 (Abb. 30a), der direkt am oberen Halsbereich angesetzt gewesen sein muss, haben sich Abdrücke von Leder und Stoff erhalten, die mit Schnüren am Gefäß befestigt worden waren. Die Mündung des Gefäßes muss daher zuerst mit sehr feinem Stoff und darüber mit Leder abgedeckt gewesen sein, wobei der Stoff ein Stück weiter den Gefäßhals herunterreichte als das Leder. Anders sah die An-

[82] Zur Klärung dieser Hypothese sind petrographische Untersuchungen durch M. F. Ownby geplant.

[83] M. Serpico/R. White, *A Report on the Analysis of the Contents of a Cache of Jars from the Tomb of Djer*, in: J. Spencer (Hrsg.), *Aspects of Early Egypt*, London 1996, S. 128–139.

[84] Siehe *9./10. Bericht*, S. 145 mit Abb. 31.

[85] M. Serpico/R. White, *a. a. O.*, S. 138.

[86] *Ebd.*, S. 136–137.

[87] Zur ausführlichen Diskussion dieses Siegels siehe V. Müller, *Relations between Egypt and the Near East during the 1st Dynasty as Represented by the Royal Tomb of Den in Umm el-Qaab/Abydos*, in: F. Höflmayer/R. Eichmann (Hrsg.), *Egypt and the Southern Levant in the Early Bronze Age, Orient-Archäologie* 31, Rahden, Westf. 2014, S. 241–258



Abb. 26 Importgefäß T-aB-251, rot poliert (1:3)



Abb. 28 Importgefäß T-42, zerfressene Innenseite (1:3)

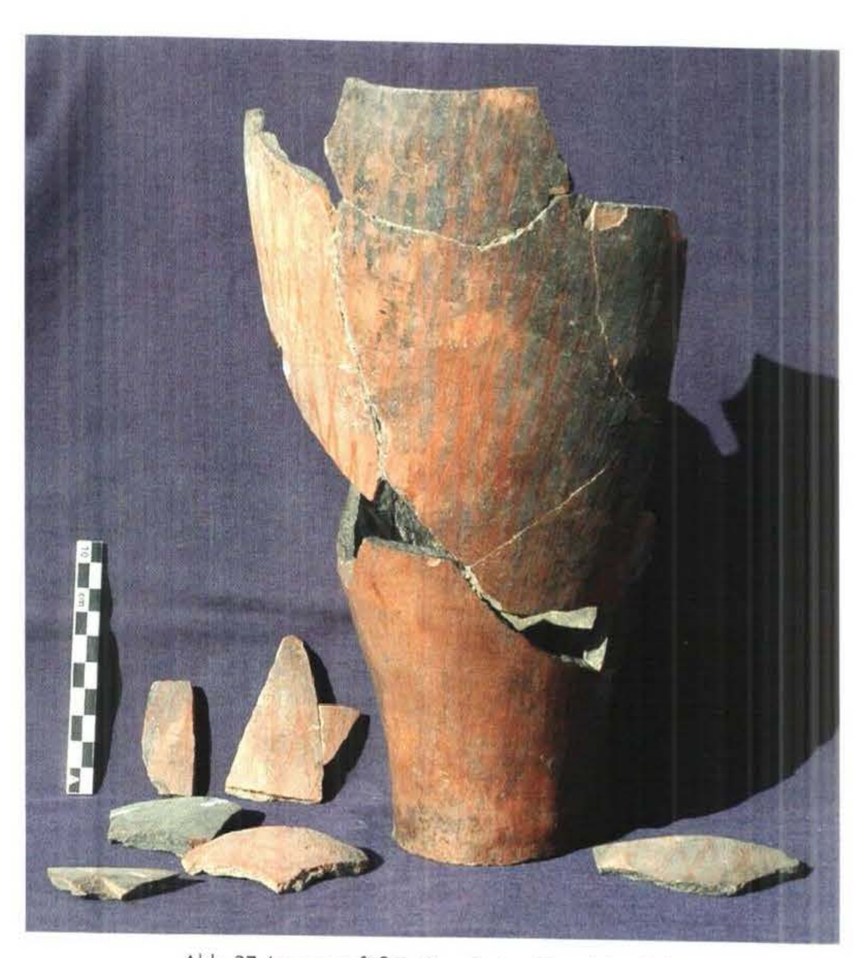


Abb. 27 Importgefäß T-42, poliertes Netzdekor (1:3)



Abb. 29 Importgefäß T-aB-234, rot bemalt (1:3, Zeichnung MIRJAM MAHN)

bringung des Verschlusses Ab K 309 (Abb. 30b) aus: Die Unterseite ist absolut plan und zeigt die Abdrücke von sehr feinem Stoff und Verschnürungen. Das zugehörige Gefäß war vermutlich mit einem glatten Deckel oder einer Scherbe abgedeckt, über die sehr feiner Stoff gelegt und verschnürt worden ist. Der Verschluss selbst dürfte auf der Mündungsmitte aufgesessen haben. Interessanterweise sind auf der Unterseite des Verschlusses einige Kerne, sehr wahrscheinlich von Trauben eingeschlossen (Abb. 30b). Es ist hier also ein ähnliches Phänomen greifbar wie bereits zur Zeit des Grabes U-j in Naq. IIIa2/IIIA1, das ca. 200 Jahre früher als Dewen datiert: Gefäße mit Wein aus der Levante werden – hier nicht durch Inhaltsanalysen, sondern durch das Siegelmuster belegt – in Ägypten einem Kontrollsystem unterzogen, das sich durch gesiegelte Verschlussplomben ausweist. Im Unterschied zu dem älteren Grab ist jedoch nicht der gesamte im Grab deponierte Wein aus der Levante importiert worden, sondern offensichtlich nur Einzelflaschen.

IV.2.3.2 Neues „Prinzensiegel"

W. HELCK und ihm folgend P. KAPLONY interpretierten Siegel, die abwechselnd ein Serech und einen Namen ohne Titel tragen, als Prinzensiegel[88]. Hieraus wurde geschlossen, dass den Prinzen – ebenso wie den Königinnen – ein eigener Wirtschaftshaushalt zugewiesen war[89]. Doch sind diese Interpretationen nicht unumstritten[90].

Nach P. KAPLONY sind für Dewen „Prinzensiegel" noch in der ersten Regierungshälfte belegt und hören dann auf[91]. Ob der vorliegende Verschluss (Abb. 32) zu dieser Gruppe gehört, kann derzeit nicht sicher bestimmt werden. Er war jedenfalls wie die meisten Festsiegel (siehe unten) auf einem der Importgefäße angebracht, von denen der überwiegende Teil mit dem Sedfest im Zusammenhang stehen dürfte. Dies wäre ein Indiz für einen eher späteren Ansatz innerhalb der Regierungszeit des Dewen – sofern man die Feier des Sedfestes in dieser Zeit überhaupt mit einer bestimmten Anzahl von Regierungsjahren in Verbindung bringen kann[92].

88 W. HELCK, *Gab es einen König „Menes"?*, in: *ZDMG* 103, 1953, S. 354–359; DERS., *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, *ÄF* 18, Glückstadt 1954, S. 86–88; *IÄF* I, S. 12 und 71.

89 W. HELCK, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*, *ÄA* 45, Wiesbaden 1987, S. 212.

90 Zuletzt E.-M. ENGEL, *The Organisation of a Nascent State: Egypt until the Beginning of the 4th Dynasty*, in: J. C. MORENO GARCIA (Hrsg.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, *HdO* 104, Leiden/Boston 2013, S. 36–37.

91 *IÄF* I, S. 12.

92 Siehe hierzu V. MÜLLER, in: *19.20./21. Bericht*, S. 69.

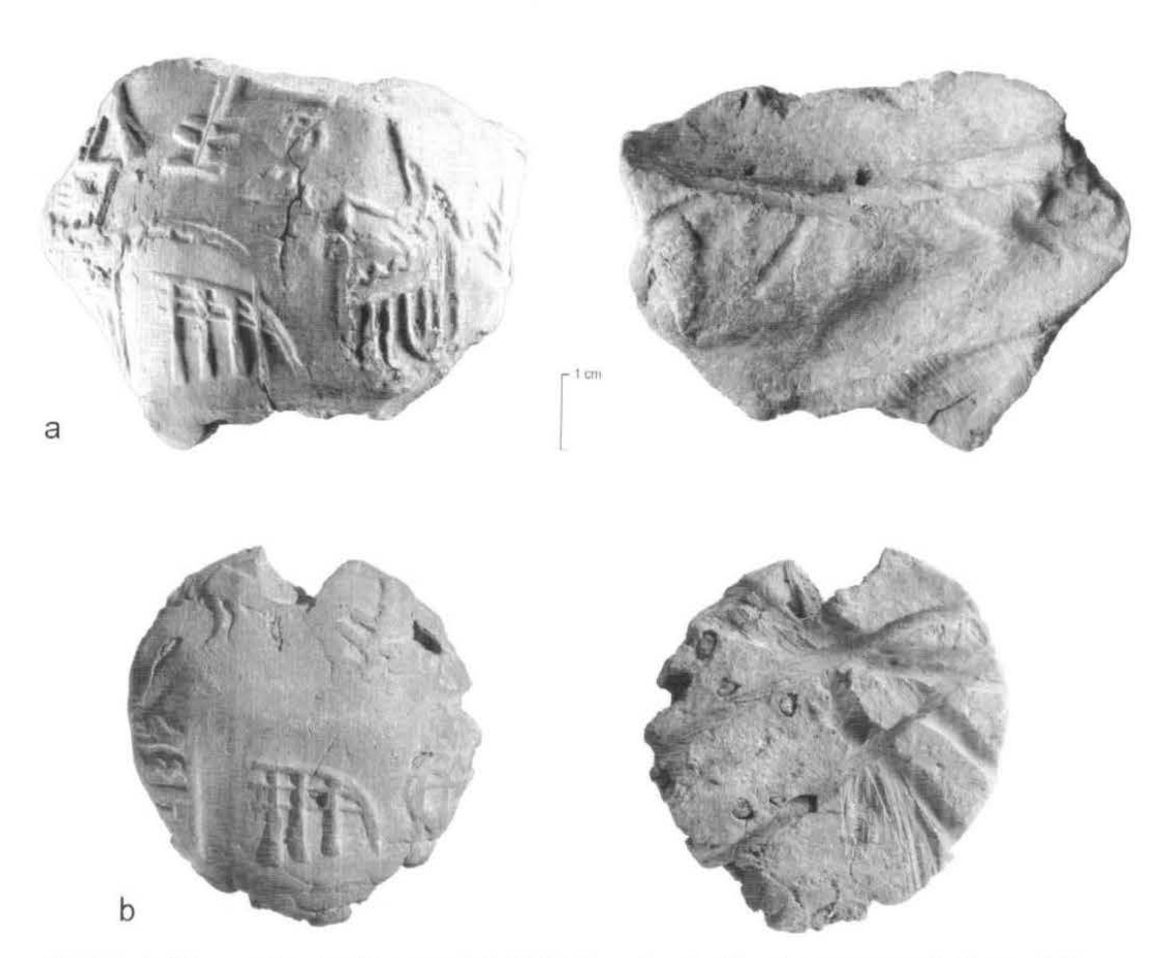


Abb. 30 Gefäßverschlüsse Ab K 306 (a) und Ab K 309 (b) von der nördlichen Treppenwange des Dewen (1:1)

Der auf dem Verschluss genannte Prinz müsste nach diesem Muster *wḥm mry* oder *mry wḥm* genannt worden sein. Nach der Zusammenstellung von I. REGULSKI war die hier vorliegende Schreibung für das Zeichen F25 in dieser Form bislang erst ab Semerchet bekannt, während zuvor eine deutlich andere Variante verwendet worden ist[93]. Auch die Bedeutung des Zeichens dürfte über den Gebrauch als Kennzeichnung des Qualitätsmerkmals von Ölen hinausgehen bzw. unabhängig davon, in Richtung der später bekannten Verwendung im Sinne von „wiederholen" zu finden sein, so dass der Name eventuell als „der wiederholt Geliebte" zu deuten ist.

IV.2.3.3 Ergänzungen zu einem von W. M. F. PETRIE gefundenen Festsiegel

W. M. F. PETRIE hat in *RT* II eine in Teilen erhaltene Abrollung eines Siegels veröffentlicht, das von P. KAPLONY wohl aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes nur aufgelistet, jedoch nicht abgebildet wurde[94]. Er hatte es mit Fragezeichen als „Prinzensiegel" angesprochen, ist ansonsten aber nicht weiter darauf eingegangen. Bei dem sich heute im Ashmolean Museum Oxford befindlichen Verschlussfragment handelt es sich nach P. KAPLONYs kurzer Angabe um einen Gefäßverschluss aus *taffl*[95], was sehr gut mit einem der beiden Neufunde, die diese Abrollung tragen, übereinstimmt. Bei diesem handelt es sich um einen 24,5 cm hohen konischen Gefäßverschluss aus *taffl* (Typ G2T)[96] für einen Weinkrug, in welchem noch der originale Deckel steckt und auf dem das Siegel fünfmal vertikal und ein sechstes Mal leicht wellig um den unteren Rand abgerollt wurde. Eine sehr kurze Teilabrollung befindet sich auf einem bislang nicht belegten Verschlusstyp aus sehr feinem Nilschlamm, der eventuell einen Lederbeutel verschloss (Ab K 886). Trotz der vielfachen Abrollung konnte das Siegel auch jetzt nicht ganz komplett rekonstruiert werden (Abb. 33), es

[93] *Paleographic Study*, S. 112 und 400.

[94] *RT* II, Pl. XIX.151; in *IÄF* I, S. 127 unter „Prinzensiegel(?)" mit der Nummer „S 151" aufgenommen.

[95] *IÄF* II, S. 807, Anm. 730.

[96] Zu den Typen der Gefäßverschlüsse siehe E.-M. ENGEL/V. MÜLLER, in: *GM* 178, 2000, S. 31–44.

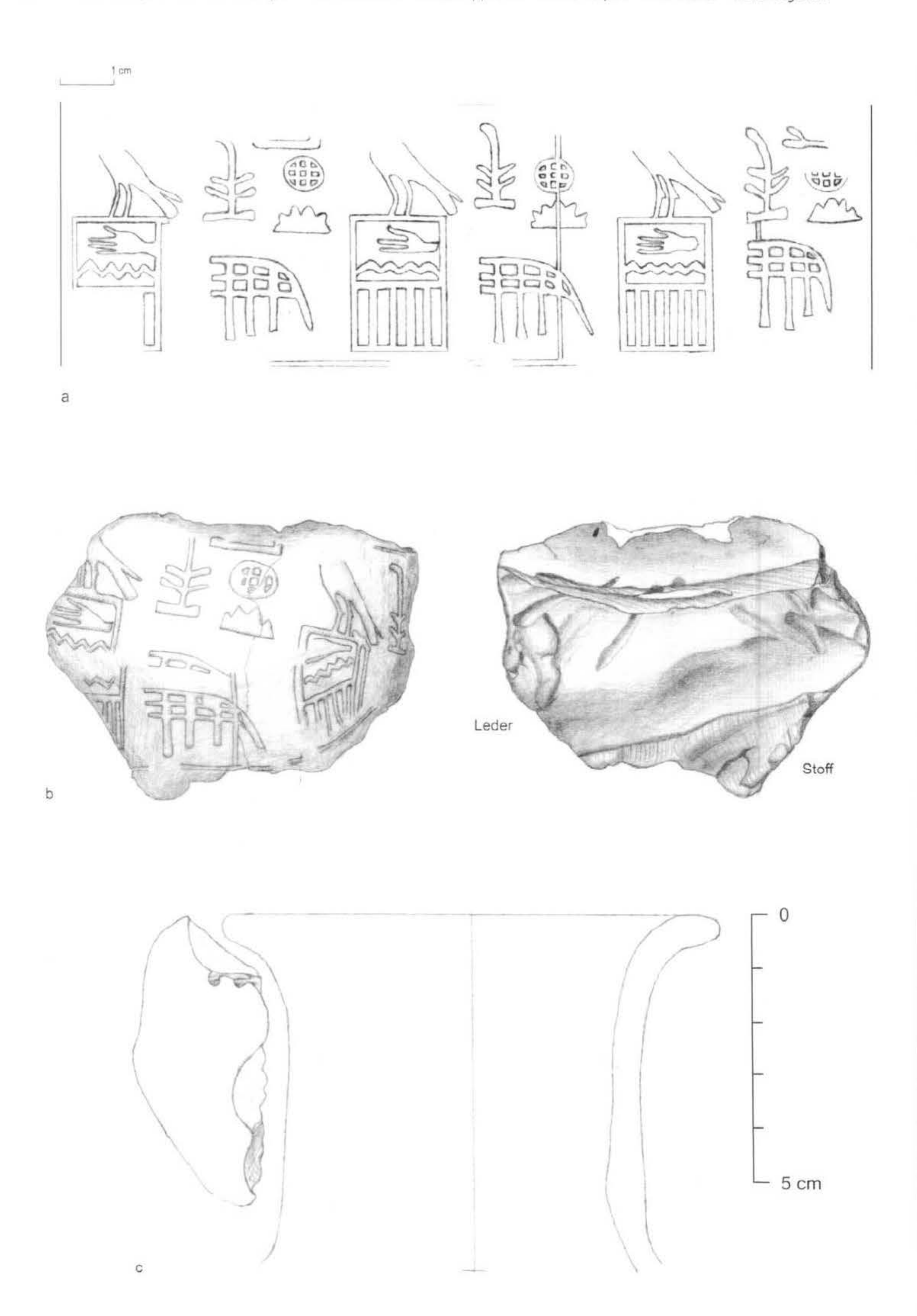


Abb. 31 Gefäßverschluss Ab K 306 (b) mit Rekonstruktion des Siegels (a) und Anpassung an großes Importgefäß (c), (1:1)

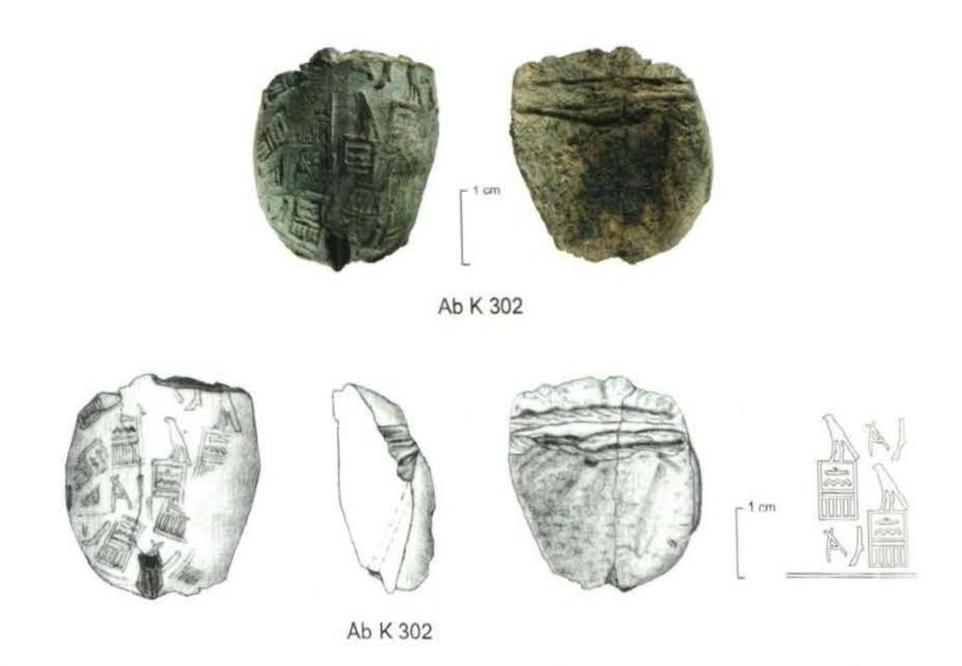
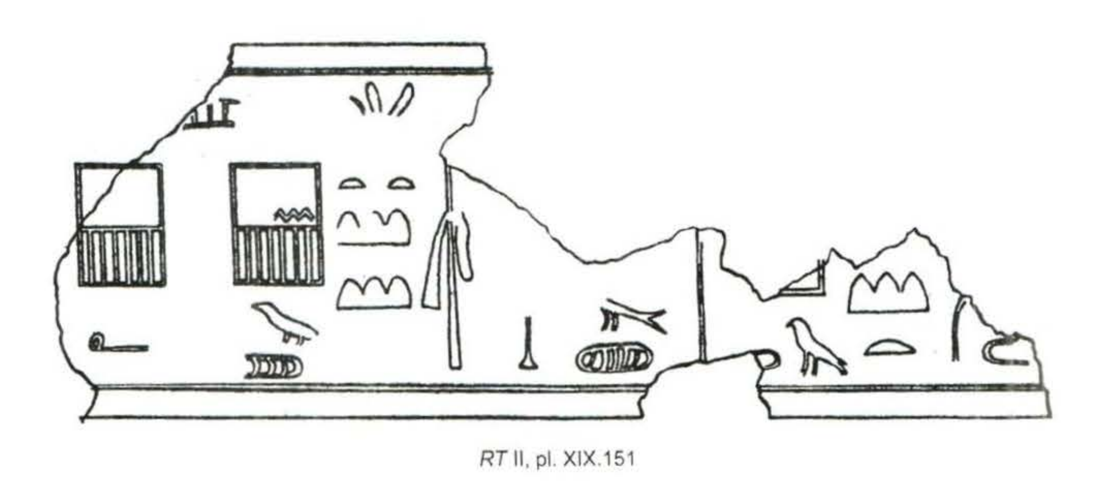
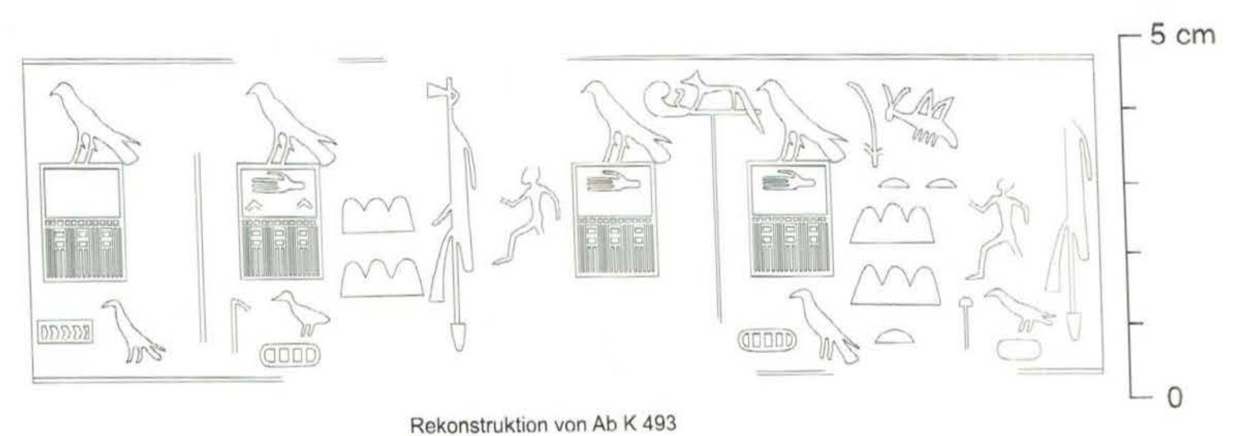


Abb. 32 Gefäßverschluss Ab K 302 von der nördlichen Treppenwange des Dewen mit Rekonstruktion des Siegels (1:1)



RT II, pl. XIX.151



Rekonstruktion von Ab K 493

Abb. 33 Rekonstruktion des Siegels *RT* II, Pl. XIX.151 anhand der Abrollungen Ab K 493 (1:1)


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dürften jedoch nicht viele Elemente fehlen. Durch die neuen Abrollungen ist deutlich, dass es sich keinesfalls um ein „Prinzensiegel" handelte, sondern dass es zur Gruppe der Festsiegel zu rechnen ist. So ist der laufende König einmal vor und einmal hinter der Imiut-Standarte dargestellt[97], wobei diese Gruppe durch den *nzw-bjt*-Namen des Königs ergänzt wird. Diese beiden Gruppen werden durch jeweils zwei Serechs mit einer Caniden-Standarte unterbrochen. Zusätzlich wurde der Gott Asch auf jeden Fall zweimal im unteren Siegelabschnitt genannt, jeweils abwechselnd mit einer sehr ähnlichen Zeichengruppe mit kleiner Standarte.

IV.2.3.4 Abdruck einer Tintenaufschrift

Wohl der hohen Feuchtigkeit des aufgebrachten *taffls* für den konischen Verschluss von Ab K 337 ist es geschuldet, dass sich eine schwarze Tintenaufschrift auf die *taffl*-Masse übertragen hat (Abb. 34). Die Tintenaufschrift könnte sich entweder direkt auf dem Stoff, mit dem die Gefäßmündung abgedeckt war, oder auf der Schulter des Weinkruges befunden haben, die mit Stoff und dem Verschluss bedeckt war. Zwar lässt sich auf dem Abdruck des sehr feinen Stoffes lediglich die Wasserlinie *n* erkennen, doch ist es im Material von Dewen der bislang einzige Nachweis für eine Tintenbeschriftung auf einem Weinkrug bzw. dem abdeckenden Stoff. Auf der Vorderseite des Gefäßverschlusses ist die von P. Kaplony aufgeführte Abrollung *IÄF* 305A verwendet.

V. M.



Abb. 34 Innenseite des Gefäßverschlusses Ab K 337 mit dem Abdruck von sehr feinem Stoff und einer Tintenaufschrift aus Halde T-W von Dewen (1: 2)

V. Grab des Semerchet

V.1 Weinkrüge

Die Bearbeitung der Keramik aus dem Grab des Semerchet (W. M. F. Petrie: Grab U) wurde zunächst mit den sogenannten Weinkrügen fortgesetzt. Im Gegensatz zu den bisherigen Ergebnissen aus anderen Gräbern in Umm el-Qaab konnten hier vergleichsweise viele vollständige Profile rekonstruiert werden. Daher stehen für diesen Gefäßtyp nun einige Exemplare zur Verfügung, anhand derer Richtlinien für die Einordnung der übrigen diagnostischen Scherben entwickelt werden sollen, da die Zuweisung einzelner Objekte und Fragmente zu bestimmten Gräbern nach wie vor Schwierigkeiten bereitet.

Die Weinkrüge sind Flaschen mit mehr oder weniger spitzem Boden, deren maximaler Durchmesser im oberen Drittel des Gefäßes liegt. Weinkrüge wurden sowohl aus Mergel- als auch aus Nilton[98] hergestellt. In der Regel bestehen sie aus den drei Teilen Rand, Wandung und Boden: Fingerab- und -eindrücke sowie Streich- und andere Druckspuren markieren die Bereiche in der Schulter und oberhalb des Bodens, an denen die einzelnen Abschnitte zusammengefügt wurden. Durch ihre charakteristische Wandstärke – bei den Mergelgefäßen ist diese zumeist etwas geringer als bei den Exemplaren aus Nilton –, ihre Oberflächenbehandlung und weitere Merkmale sind die einzelnen Scherben in der Regel gut von denen anderer Gefäßtypen zu unterscheiden. Ihre moderne Bezeichnung als Weinkrug leitet sich von der Determinierung des Wortes *jrp* auf zahlreichen frühzeitlichen Opferlisten mit einem derartigen Gefäß ab[99], doch haben sich neben Spuren von verdunsteten Flüssigkeiten oder gelegentlich Traubenkernen[100] auch andere Inhaltsreste in den Originalen erhalten[101], so dass entweder von einem größeren Spektrum an möglichen Inhaltsstoffen oder von einer

[97] Zur Diskussion der Imiut-Standarte auf den Festsiegeln siehe V. Müller, in: *19./20./21. Bericht*, S. 65–66.

[98] „Nilton" wird hier als Abgrenzung zum eindeutig bestimmbaren Mergelton verwendet: V. Müller, in: *9./10. Bericht*, S. 155; Dies., in: *11./12. Bericht*, S. 101.

[99] Z. B. J. E. Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas*, *Excav. Saqq.* 6, Le Caire 1923, Pls. XXVI–XXVII.

[100] E.-C. Köhler, in: *7./8. Bericht*, S. 52.

[101] *GT* III, S. 103; K. Kroeper, *Corpus of Potmarks from The Pre/Early Dynastic Cemetery at Minshat Abu Omar (Northeastern Delta, Egypt)*, in: L. Krzyzaniak/K. Kroeper/M. Kobusiewicz (Hrsg.), *Recent Research into The Stone Age of Northeastern Africa*, *SAA* 7, Poznan 2000, S. 216.

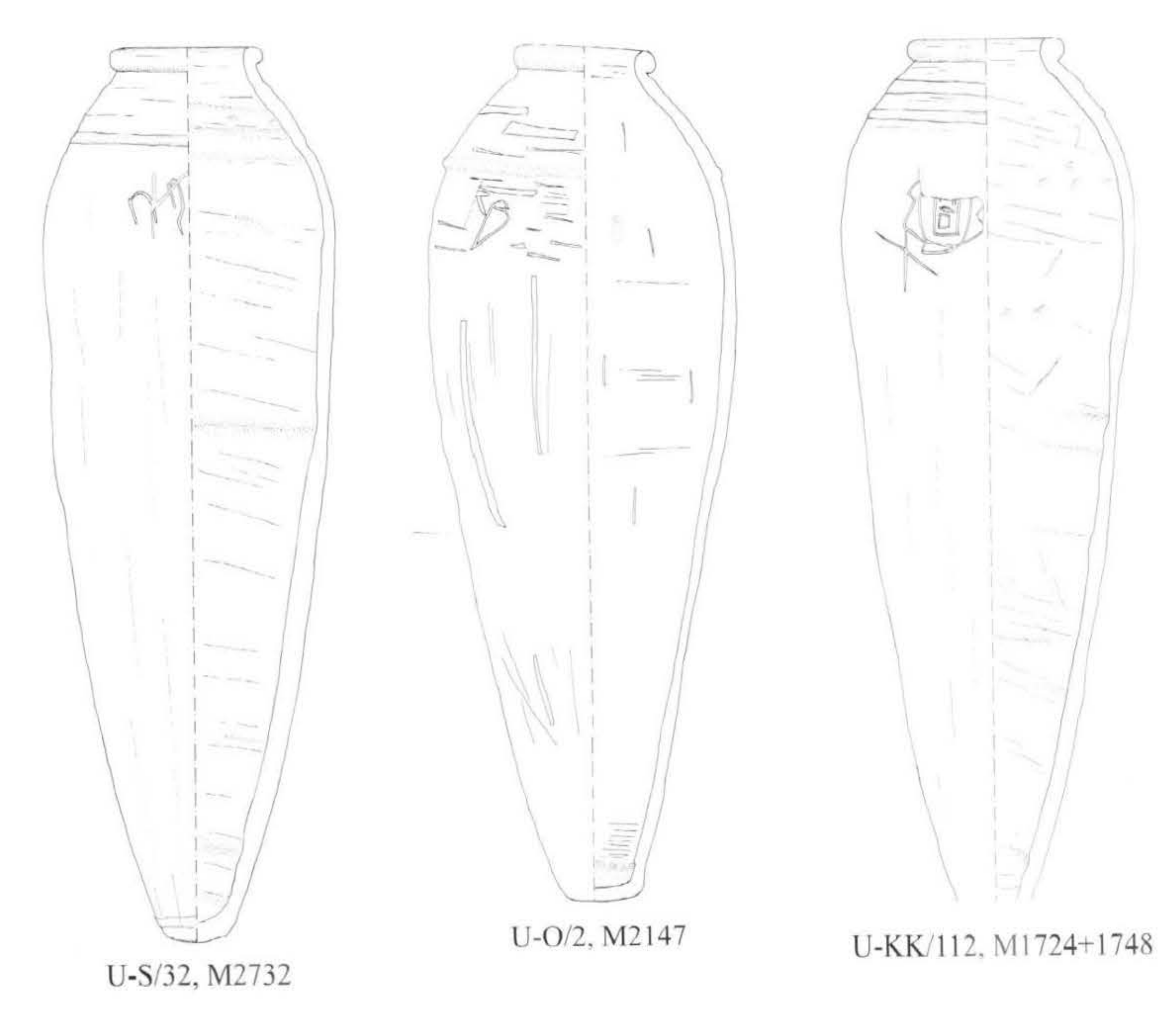


Abb. 35a–c Grab des Semerchet, Weinkrüge (1:6)

häufigen Zweitverwendung dieser relativ stabilen Gefäße auszugehen ist. Auf vielen der frühen frühzeitlichen Grabungen wurden sie mit unterschiedlichen, gesiegelten Kappen geborgen, so dass über die Inschriften der verwendeten Siegel eine Datierung der Gefäße und damit oft auch der architektonischen Relikte möglich war. Derartige Befunde sind inzwischen selten, so dass die sich wandelnde Gestalt der Weinkrüge als Datierungskriterium herangezogen wird. In Anlehnung an den von M. BIETAK entwickelten Napf-Index[102] wurde von E. C. KÖHLER und J. SMYTHE ein Index aus Höhe und maximalem Durchmesser erstellt, der über die 1. Dynastie hinweg eine deutliche Veränderung zeigt[103]. Die große Anzahl der rekonstruierbaren Exemplare aus Grab U lässt nun aber erkennen, dass der Index, der bislang auf der Basis von nur wenigen Gefäßen für die Regierungszeit des Semerchet ermittelt worden war, nicht die gesamte Bandbreite widerspiegelt, die bei den jetzt rekonstruierten Stücken aus Grab U zwischen 1,86 und 3,81 liegt.

Im Zuge der Bearbeitung der Weinkrüge wurden acht Varianten festgestellt, die sich nach Dekor und Ton – die vier unterschiedlichen Dekore sind jeweils auf Nil- und Mergelgefäßen angebracht – unterscheiden: So gibt es neben dekorlosen Gefäßen wesentlich mehr, die mit ein oder zwei Wülsten bzw. Zierleisten

[102] M. BIETAK, *Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology. New Evidence from Egypt*, in: *AJA* 88, 1984, S. 471–485.

[103] E.-C. KÖHLER/J. C. SMYTHE, *Early Dynastic Pottery from Helwan – Establishing a Ceramic Corpus of the Naqada III Period*, in: *CCE* 7, 2004, S. 129–130; J. C. SMYTHE, *New Results from a Second Storage Tomb at Helwan. Implications for the Naqada III Period in the Memphite Region*, in: B. MIDANT-REYNES/Y. TRISTANT (Hrsg.), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th–8th September 2005*, *OLA* 172, Leuven/Paris/Dudley 2008, S. 154–157 (im Folgenden als J. C. SMYTHE, *Second Storage Tomb* zitiert).

auf Höhe des maximalen Durchmessers oder etwas oberhalb versehen sind; einige wenige weisen im oberen Drittel ein Dekor aus Bögen oder Wellen auf. Dass diese Varianten tatsächlich im Grab des Semerchet vorkamen, zeigt die Beschriftung zahlreicher Exemplare mit dem Namen des Königs (mit Index-Werten von 2,57 bis 3,18; Abb. 35–37)[104] – Verwerfungen aus anderen Bereichen der Nekropole oder Erbstücke[105] können somit zumindest für diese Gefäße ausgeschlossen werden. Vielmehr muss davon ausgegangen werden, dass die große Bandbreite von Index-Werten tatsächlich innerhalb einer Regierungszeit hergestellt wurde, auch wenn bislang nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann, dass das eine oder andere Exemplar aus einem anderen Grab hierher verworfen wurde.

Im Folgenden sollen einige Beispiele vorgestellt werden; Bearbeitungsspuren sind nur aufgeführt, wenn sie von den üblichen horizontalen Drehspuren im oberen Bereich, den diagonalen Streichspuren und den Fingerabdrücken abweichen bzw. darüber hinausgehen.

U-S/32=M2732: Weinkrug mit einem Wulst (Abb. 35a)
H 76,2 cm, Ø Rand 13 cm, max. Ø 26 cm, Ø Boden 6 cm, rekonstruiertes Volumen 17 l, Erhaltung Rand 108°, Boden 360°
Nilton mit wenig Dung und Kalkstein
Oberfläche Überzug 5R 5/4, außen 5YR 6/4, Bruch 5YR 6/2–4, innen 5YR 6/4
Ritzmarke unter Wulst

U-O/2=M2147: Weinkrug mit einem Wulst (Abb. 35b)
H 73,5 cm, Ø Rand ca. 10 cm, max. Ø 27 cm, Ø Boden 7,1 cm, rekonstruiertes Volumen 16 l, Erhaltung Rand 130°, Boden 360°
Mergel, sehr fein gemagert mit Sand und Kalkstein
Oberfläche außen 10YR 6/6, Bruch 7.5YR 6/3, innen 10YR 6/6
Ritzmarke unter Wulst; stark versintert; horizontale und vertikale Pinselstriche

U-KK/112=M1724+1748: Weinkrug mit zwei Wülsten (Abb. 35c)
H 73,8+x cm, Ø Rand 13 cm, max. Ø 25 cm, rekonstruiertes Volumen 16,5 l, Erhaltung Rand 120° + 180°
Nilton mit Dung, Kalkstein und wenig Keramik
Oberfläche außen poliert 2.5YR 5/3, Bruch 2.5YR 5/3 – 10R 5/6 – 2.5YR 5/1 – 10R 5/6 – 2.5YR 5/3, innen 2.5YR 5/3
Ritzmarke unter unterem Wulst

U-OS/4: Weinkrug mit zwei Wülsten (Abb. 36a)
H 78 cm, Ø Rand 14 cm, max. Ø 27,5 cm, Ø Boden 6,5 cm, rekonstruiertes Volumen 22 l, Erhaltung Rand 130°, Boden 360°
Mergel mit Sand, Kalkstein, Holzkohle und schwarzen Partikeln
Oberfläche Überzug 2.5YR 4–5 – 7.5YR 4/3, außen 7.5YR 5/3 – 10R 6/4, Bruch 2.5YR 6/1 – 5/2, innen 5YR 8/3, 7.5YR 6/4, 7.5YR 8/3
Oberfläche versintert

U-KK/85=M2127: Weinkrug ohne Dekor (Abb. 36b)
H 63,5+x cm, Ø Rand 19,4 cm, max. Ø 33,5 cm, rekonstruiertes Volumen 27 l, Erhaltung Rand ca. 90°
Nilton mit Kalkstein, Holzkohle und wenig Keramik, Dung und Quarz
Oberfläche Überzug 10R 5/4, Bruch 10R 5/6 – 5/1 – 5/6, innen 10R 5/4
Ritzmarke auf Höhe des maximalen Durchmessers; auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite etwa auf halber Gefäßhöhe Tintenmarke

U-KK/34=M2158: Weinkrug ohne Dekor (Abb. 36c)
H 80,5 cm, Ø Rand ca. 12 cm, max. Ø 29,8 cm, Ø Boden 6,5 cm, rekonstruiertes Volumen 24 l, Erhaltung Rand 142°, Boden 360°
Mergel mit Sand, wenig Kalkstein und schwarzen Partikeln
Oberfläche außen oben bis Schulter 5YR 6/3, darunter 10YR 7/3, Bruch 7.5YR 6/2, innen 5YR 6/3
schwarze Farbspuren; Ritzmarke auf Höhe des maximalen Durchmessers, nach dem Brand; unterste 10 cm versintert, Feuerungsflecken

U-KK/75=M1393: Weinkrug mit Bogendekor (Abb. 37c)
H 82 cm, Ø Rand 16 cm, max. Ø 28,5 cm, Ø Boden 5 cm, rekonstruiertes Volumen 23,5 l, Erhaltung Rand 40°, Boden 90°
Nilton mit Keramik, Quarz und großen Kalksteinen
Oberfläche Überzug poliert 10R 5/4
Oberfläche innen und außen stark verschmutzt; Ritzmarke auf Höhe des maximalen Durchmessers unter Bogendekor

An den Enden des Weinkrugspektrums gibt es jeweils nur sehr wenige Exemplare (vor allem der dekorlosen Variante aus Nilton).

M1641+1721: Weinkrug ohne Dekor (Abb. 37b)
H 12+x cm, Ø Rand 34 cm

104 Nur die Variante mit zwei Wülsten aus Mergelton ist bislang nicht eindeutig mit einem Serech des Semerchet verbunden.

105 J. C. Smythe, *Second Storage Tomb*, S. 156.

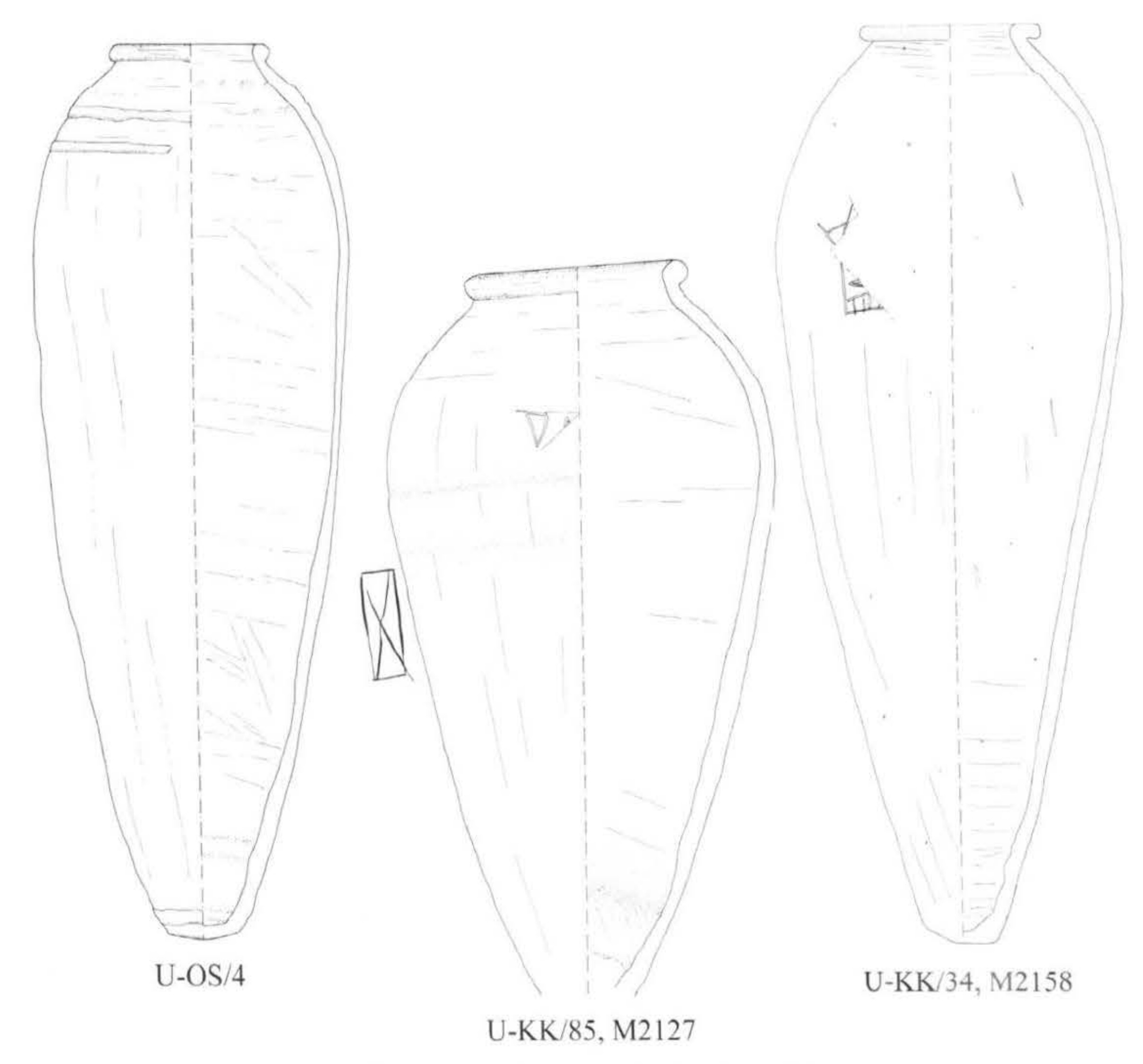


Abb. 36a–c Grab des Semerchet, Weinkrüge (1:6)

Nilton mit Kalkstein bis 1 mm, Quarz und Dung
Oberfläche außen poliert 10R 5/4, Bruch 10R 5/4, innen 2.5YR 6/4
Ritzmarke oberhalb des maximalen Durchmessers; grünliche Verfärbung (Kupfer) innen am Rand (von Deckel?)

U-KK/108=M2123: Weinkrug ohne Dekor
(Abb. 37d)
H 84 cm, Ø Rand 37,5 cm, max. Ø 58 cm, Ø Boden 9,5 cm, rekonstruiertes Volumen 76,5 l, Erhaltung Rand 320°, Boden 360°
Nilton mit feiner Magerung aus Dung, Keramik und Kalkstein
Oberfläche Überzug 10R 4/4, außen 10R 5/6, Bruch 2.5YR 5/1, innen 2.5YR 6/4
außen bis ca. 10 cm unter Rand versintert (von Verschluss?), horizontale Streichspuren bis max. Ø, darunter vertikal poliert, am Übergang diagonale Streichspuren, Sinter anhaftend; innen diagonale Sinterspuren (fleckig) in oberer Hälfte, teilweise auch fleckig dunkelbraun verfärbt, horizontale und diagonale Streichspuren; Ritzmarke oberhalb des maximalen Durchmessers.

Einige wenige kleine Exemplare sind nicht nur durch die deutlich geringeren Maße, sondern auch die markante Randausprägung von den übrigen Weinkrügen abgesetzt.

U-O/21: Weinkrug ohne Dekor (Abb. 37a, 39)
H 35,2 cm, Ø Rand 16,7 cm, max. Ø 23,4 cm, Ø Boden 6 cm, rekonstruiertes Volumen 7,2 l, Erhaltung Rand 280°, Boden 360°
Nilton mit Dung, Quarz, Keramik, Kalkstein und schwarzen Partikeln

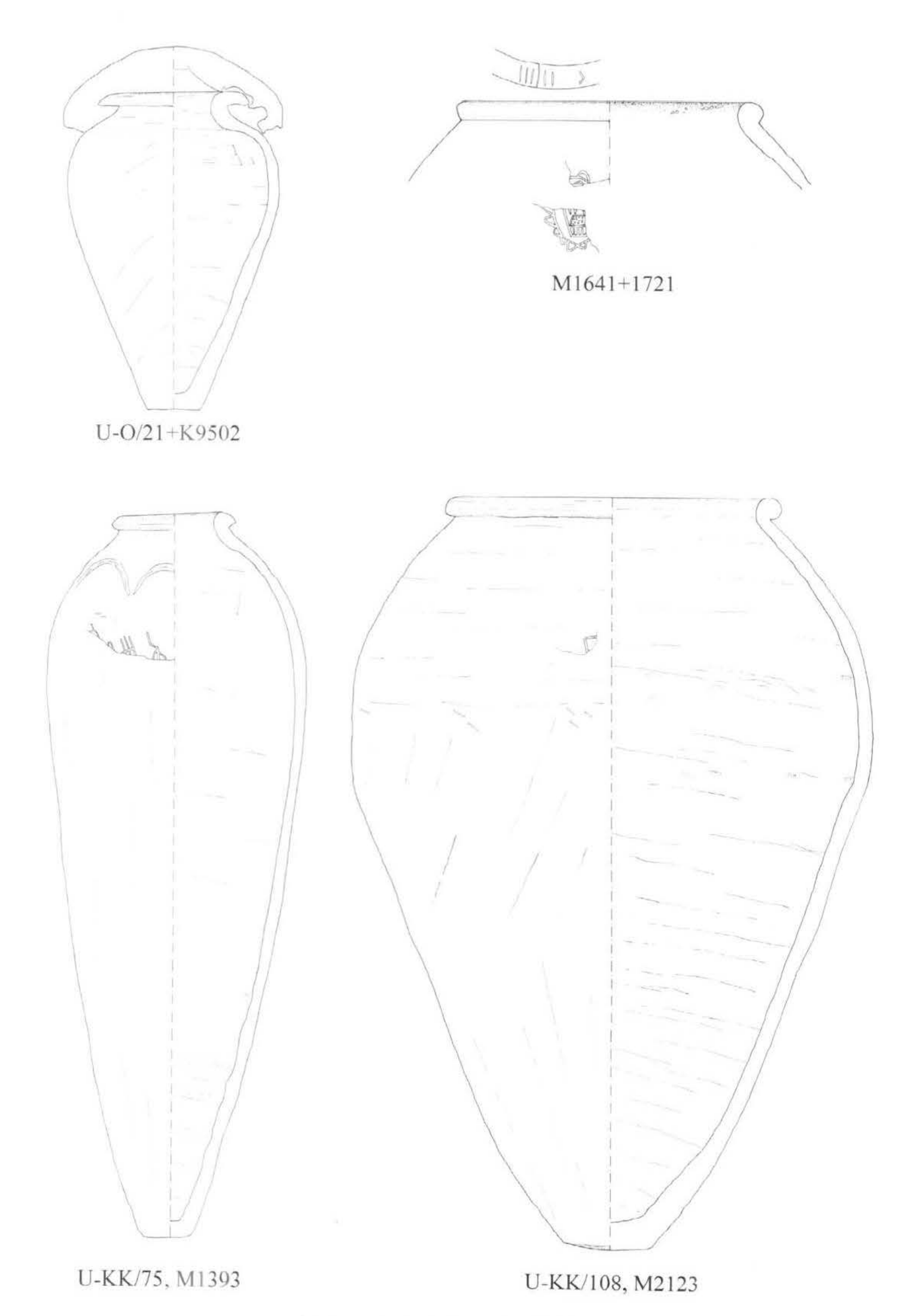


Abb. 37a–d Grab des Semerchet, Weinkrüge (1:6)





Abb. 38a–b Grab des Semerchet,
Gefäßverschluss Ab K 9502, Ober- und Unterseite



Abb. 39 Grab des Semerchet,
Weinkrug U-O/21 mit Verschluss Ab K 9502

Oberfläche Überzug 10R 5/6, Bruch 2.5YR 6/1, innen 2.5YR 6/4
auf der Innenseite der Schulter nur leichte Fingereindrücke

Die Form des Randes ermöglicht auch eine Zuweisung bestimmter Verschlüsse des Typs G1T[106] an diese Gefäße:

Ab K 9502: Gefäßverschluss Typ G1T für breitrandigen kleinen Weinkrug (Abb. 38a–b, 39)
H x+12 cm, B x+20+y cm, L x+12 cm, D 3 cm, 1078 g
Taffl mit Fasern, Schnecken und großen Keramikfragmenten
IÄF III, Abb. 243 um Basis und überkreuz über Kappe abgerollt; Ritzung mit Stöckchen über Abrollung: *jr kꜣ* und zwei (+ x?) vertikale Striche; auf Unterseite Fragment eines Deckels anhaftend, Abdrücke von Kordel und von mit Pflanzenfasern umwickeltem Gefäßrand

Das auf diesen Verschlüssen abgerollte Siegel hätte nach der vorliegenden Rekonstruktion eine Höhe von 5,2 cm und einen Durchmesser von 4,3 cm. Die Inschrift ist bereits bekannt[107], doch kann die Abfolge der Kolumnen jetzt etwas korrigiert werden (Abb. 40), da die Anordnung der Zeichen erkennen lässt, dass mindestens acht Kolumnen mit sich wiederholenden Inschriften vorliegen:

1 *ḥrw smr-ḫ.t*
2 *jnb ḫnt ...*[a]
3 *ḥrw smr-ḫ.t*
4 *jnb ḫnt ḥw.t sḫt.jw*[b]
5 *ḥrw smr-ḫ.t*
6 *jnb ḫnt ...*
7 *ḥrw smr-ḫ.t*
8 *jnb ḫnt ḥw.t sḫt.jw*

a) Bei J. Kahl, *System der Hieroglyphenschrift*, S. 809 bleibt diese Zeichengruppe [w2 (3x)] ohne Lautwert; er verweist auf W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*, *ÄA* 45, Wiesbaden 1987, S. 213–214, der eine Töpferei nicht ausschließen mochte, allerdings auch eine Weberei in Betracht zog. Gerade in Zusammenhang mit der Kolumne, die ein „Haus der Weber" nennt, kann wohl auch hier eine

[106] E.-M. Engel/V. Müller, in: *GM* 178, 2000, S. 31–43.

[107] *IÄF* III, Abb. 243.

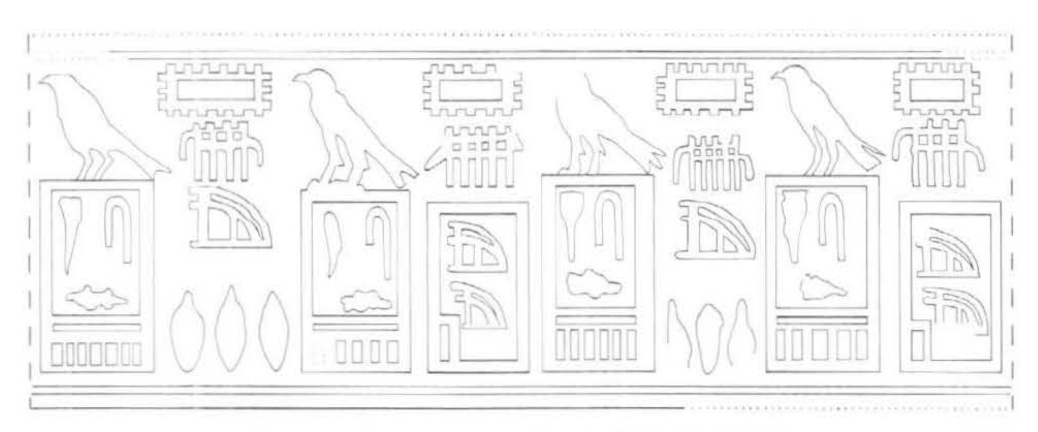


Abb. 40 Rekonstruktion des Siegels *IÄF* III, Abb. 243 (1:1)

Entscheidung zugunsten des letztgenannten Vorschlages fallen.

b) Bei beiden Zeichen handelt es sich um Gardiner T27. Damit bestätigt sich die Vermutung W. Helcks[108], der sich gegen die Lesung eines der Zeichen als Gardiner O45 durch P. Kaplony[109] ausgesprochen hatte. Eine Interpretation beider Zeichen als *k3n.w*/M43, wie von K. Hein vorgeschlagen[110], kann wegen der „Standlinie" der Zeichen verworfen werden[111].

Auch viele der übrigen Weinkrüge waren vermutlich mit gesiegelten Verschlüssen versehen, allerdings ist hier aufgrund der unspezifischeren Gefäßränder bzw. erhaltenen Abdrücke eine direkte Verbindung von Verschluss und Gefäß nicht mehr möglich. Zusätzlich können Gefäße aller Weinkrugvarianten mit Ritzmarken versehen sein. Neben den bereits erwähnten Nennungen des Königs sind sowohl „hieroglyphenartige" als auch florale Muster vertreten, wie sie auch in anderen Gräbern auftreten[112]; die meisten Marken wurden vor dem Brand angebracht; seltener sind solche, die nach dem Brennen in den Ton hineingekratzt wurden, oder einfache Tintenaufschriften.

Da diese Gefäße eine Funktion als Behälter im Grab zu erfüllen hatten, liegt es nahe, das Volumen als Kriterium für eine nähere Unterscheidung zu verwenden[113]. Abb. 41a zeigt das Volumen im Verhältnis zur Höhe der Weinkrüge. Es fällt auf, dass die Varianten mit Wülsten unabhängig von ihrem Ton und der Anzahl der Wülste eine mehr oder weniger einheitliche Gruppe zu bilden scheinen; vielleicht ist hier noch eine zahlenmäßig kleine Gruppe davon abzugrenzen, die bei niedrigerer Höhe auch ein geringeres Fassungsvermögen aufweist[114]. Gefäße ohne Dekor bzw. mit Bogendekor dagegen haben ein größeres Fassungsvermögen, ohne dass sie notwendigerweise höher sind. Auch in diesem Spektrum scheint die Art des Tones keine Rolle zu spielen. Als Index dargestellt weisen die mit Wülsten dekorierten Gefäße Werte von 2,17–3,81 auf; im gleichen Bereich befinden sich die Werte für Gefäße mit Bogendekor (2,6–3,0), während solche ohne Dekor etwas davon abgesetzt sind (1,86–2,92). Manche Gefäße vermitteln den Eindruck, dass die Menge des Inhaltes an ganze bzw. Teile oder Vielfache altägyptischer Hohlmaße angepasst wurde[115]: Die Weinkrüge mit Bogendekor aus der Zeit des Semerchet schwanken zwischen 4,5 und

[108] W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*, *ÄA* 45, Wiesbaden 1987, S. 213, Anm. 13.

[109] *IÄF* I, S. 142.

[110] K. Hein, *Vinikultur in Ägypten. Eine Untersuchung des Weinbaus unter administrativen und ökonomischen Gesichtspunkten von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reichs*, *AegMon* 6, Aachen 2010, S. 65.

[111] Siehe dazu *Palaeographic Study*, S. 506–507 [M43].

[112] E.-M. Engel, *Zu den Ritzmarken der 1. Dynastie*, in: *LingAeg* 5, 1997, S. 13–27.

[113] Das Volumen wurde berechnet nach Maßgabe der Formel bei K. Butt/E.-M. Engel, *Berechnung der Volumina von ovoiden Gefäßen mit spitzem bzw. flachem Boden: ein neuer Ansatz*, in: *GM* 224, 2010, S. 9–16. Letztendlich ist das Berechnen des Volumens vergleichbar mit dem des Indexes, da Höhe und Durchmesser zugrunde gelegt werden.

[114] Möglicherweise ist auch für die Zeit des Dewen eine solche kleine Variante anzunehmen: vgl. die Maße der Gefäße aus Abu Roasch mit denen aus dem Grab des Dewen, siehe unten, Anm. 117.

[115] Vgl. z. B. für das sog. Kornmaßsystem T. Pommerening, *Die altägyptischen Hohlmaße*, *BSAK* 10, Hamburg 2005, S. 99–107. Für die Berechnungen wird ein *ḥq3.t* mit 4,8 l angesetzt. Ein Zusammenhang von Gefäßgröße und Hohlmaßsystem liegt nahe, da für Angaben der Volumen z. T. ähnliche Zeichen Verwendung fanden wie sie auch auf einigen Gefäßen vor allem aus Mergel als Ritzmarken auftreten.

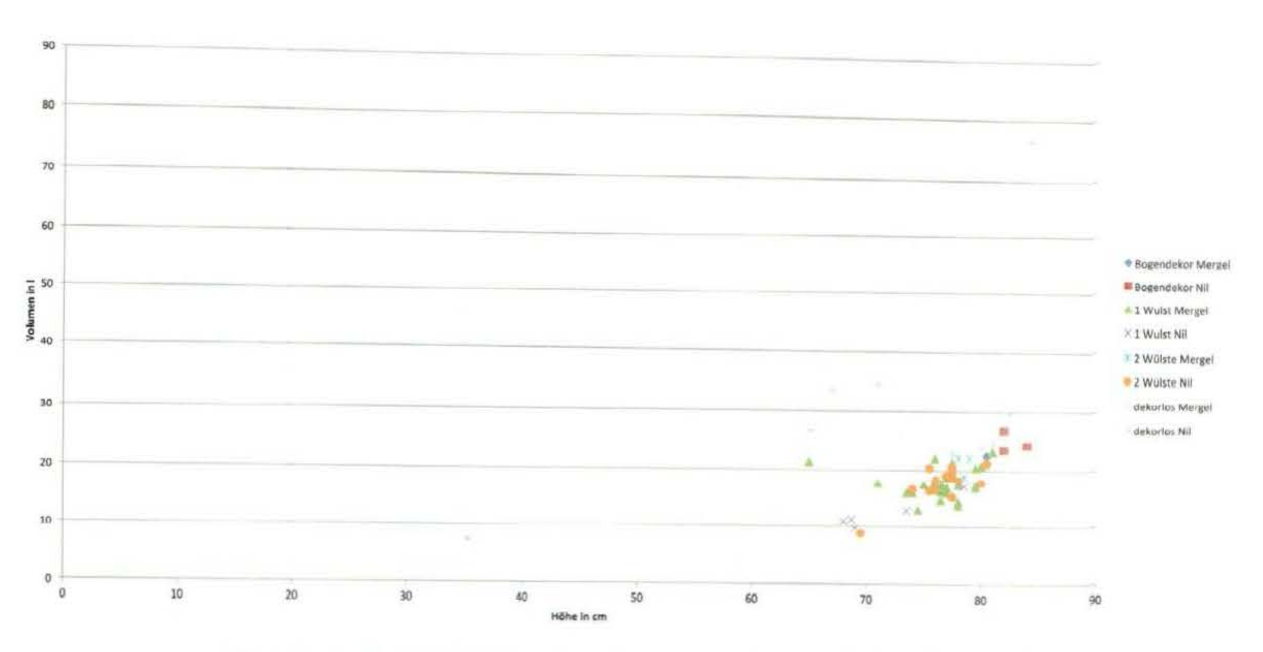


Abb. 41a Höhe der Weinkrüge im Verhältnis zu ihrem Volumen (Zeit des Semerchet)

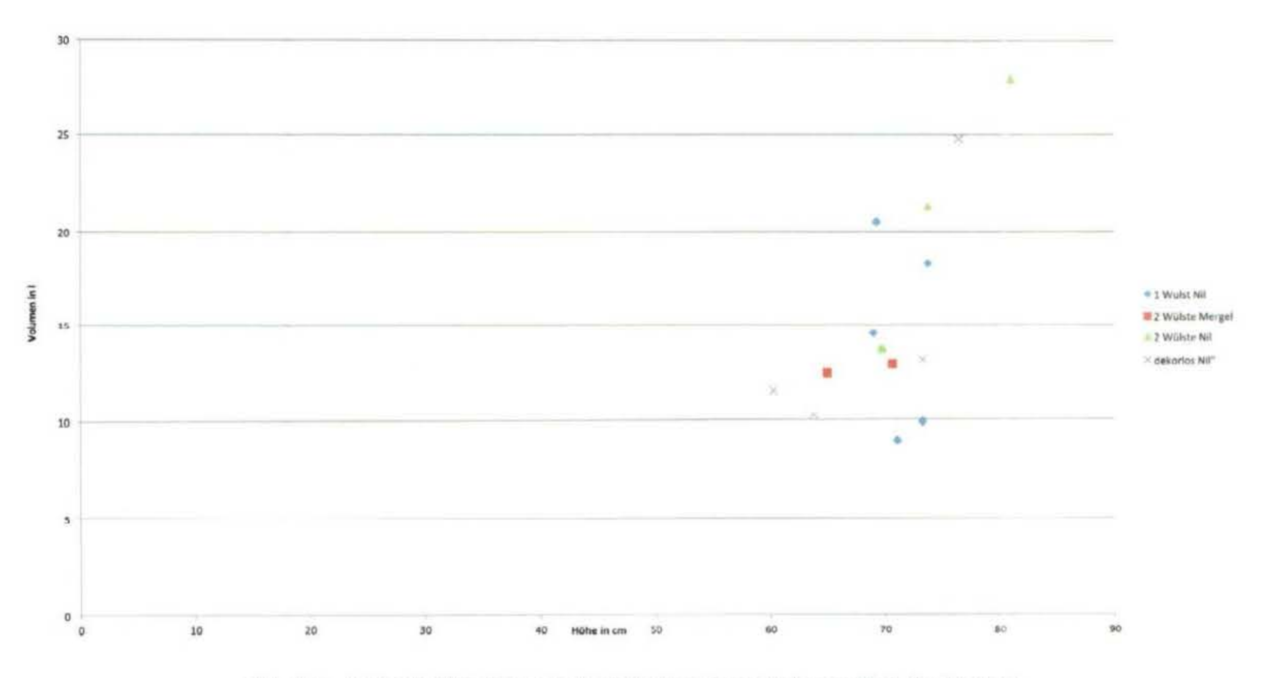


Abb. 41b Höhe der Weinkrüge im Verhältnis zu ihrem Volumen (Zeit des Dewen)

5,5 *ḥqꜣ.t*, die mit Wulst zwischen 2 und 4,5 und die dekorlosen zwischen 3,5 und 8; U-O/21 weist eine Füllmenge von 1,5 und U-KK/108 von beinahe 16 *ḥqꜣ.t* auf[116].

Die Gefäße aus der Regierungszeit des Dewen, die bislang publiziert vorliegen, scheinen ein etwas anderes Bild zu ergeben (Abb. 41b): Die Individuen der einzelnen Varianten sind einander von den Maßen her ähnlicher als die aus der Regierungszeit des Semerchet[117].

Die Maße zeigen aber auch, dass die Gefäße aus der Zeit des Dewen tendenziell etwas kleiner sind als die aus der Zeit des Semerchet, in der zudem noch einzelne Exemplare mit besonders großer Kapazität hergestellt wurden[118].

Allerdings hilft die Bestimmung des Volumens ebenso wenig wie die zur Berechnung des Index' notwendigen Maße von Höhe und maximalem Durchmesser bei der Einordnung einzelner Scherben, bei denen die Zugehörigkeit zum Inventar des Grabes U erst noch festgestellt werden muss. Das markanteste Maß, das bei diagnostischen Scherben zur Verfügung steht, ist in der Regel der Durchmesser des Randes. Korreliert man die Höhe des Gefäßes mit dem Randdurchmesser (Abb. 42a), so ergibt sich zwar ein ähnliches, aber weniger klares Bild wie bei der Verwendung von Höhe und Volumen. Auch hier heben sich die dekorlosen Gefäße am stärksten von der Gruppe ab, während bei den übrigen der Randdurchmesser zwischen etwa 9 und 16 cm zu variieren scheint und somit dem der Exemplare aus dem Grab des Dewen entspricht (Abb. 42b). Möglicherweise werden sich bei der Auswertung aller diagnostischer Fragmente weitere Kriterien ergeben, anhand derer genauer zwischen den einzelnen Varianten in den unterschiedlichen Gräbern differenziert werden kann. Unter Umständen werden auch die Ritzmarken zur Datierung und damit Zuweisung einzelner Weinkrüge zu bestimmten Gräbern in Umm el-Qaab herangezogen werden können[119]: Zumindest die auf den fast vollständig rekonstruierbaren Gefäßen angebrachten Ritzmarken weisen bislang darauf hin, dass diese Gefäße tatsächlich ursprünglich im Grab des Semerchet untergebracht waren, während andere aus nördlicheren Bereichen verworfen sind.

Abschließend lässt sich feststellen, dass in der Unterscheidung der Weinkrüge im Grab des Semerchet in solche mit Wulst und solche ohne Dekor bzw. mit Bogendekor möglicherweise eine Entwicklung angedeutet ist, die sich in der 2. Dynastie mit der deutlichen Trennung der Weinkrugvarianten in eine kleine mit Wulst und eine große dekorlose fortsetzt[120].

E.-M. E.[*]

VI. Grab des Peribsen

VI.1 Reinigungsarbeiten

Nordwestlich und nordöstlich des Grabes des Peribsen wurden in Ausweitung eines 2005 angelegten Schnittes[121] weitere Abschnitte der originalen Wüstenoberfläche von Schuttüberlagerungen und Flugsand gereinigt. In einer kleinen Schutthalde (P-HNW) kamen noch mehrere Siegelabrollungen des Peribsen und des

[116] Bereits in prädynastischer Zeit scheinen sich an *ḥqꜣ.t*-Angaben angepasste Größen zu finden: So kann das Gefäß Minshat Abu Omar 520/3 etwa ein halbes *ḥqꜣ.t* enthalten (K. Kroeper, *The Excavations of the Munich East-Delta Expedition in Minshat Abu Omar*, in: E. C. M. van den Brink (Hrsg.), *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta. Problems and Priorities*, Amsterdam 1988, S. 29 [140]), das Gefäß Ismailia Museum 1928 aus el-Beda etwa drei (*ebd.*, S. 32 [214]) und das Gefäß MMA 61.122 zwei *ḥqꜣ.t* (E. C. M. van den Brink, *The Pottery-Incised Serekh-Signs of Dynasties 0–1 Part II. Fragments and Additional Complete Vessels*, in: *Archéo-Nil* 11, 2001, S. 44 [8.a.20]).

[117] Für die Zeit des Dewen wurden als Vergleich herangezogen: 1 Wulst – A. Klasens, *The Excavations of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities at Abu-Roash. Report of the Third Season: 1959*, in: *OMRO* 42, 1961, Fig. 3 (A8, A12), 114, Fig. 4 (1, 8, 20, 24, 29, 34, 38); A. J. Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum V. Early Dynastic Objects*, London 1980, S. 46, Pl. 22, 40 [308]; *9./10. Bericht*, S. 157, Abb. 34a, b; 2 Wülste – E.-M. Engel, *Das Grab des Qa'a in Umm el-Qa'ab. Architektur und Inventar*, Dissertation Göttingen 1997, S. 148, Abb. 82 [1]; E. C. M. van den Brink, *First Dynasty Wine Jars Inscribed with the Floral Sign šmꜥj*, in: F. Raffaele/M. Nuzzolo/I. Incordino (Hrsg.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Researches in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology. Naples, June 18–20, 2008*, Wiesbaden 2010, Figs. 1.5a, 1.7, 2.10; A. Klasens, in: *OMRO* 42, Fig. 3 (A6, A7B), 114, Fig. 4 (2, 9, 10, 11, 17, 19, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 39, 42, 45, 46); J. C. Smythe, *Second Storage Tomb*, S. 173, 183, Fig. 32; ohne Dekor – A. Klasens, in: *OMRO* 42, Fig. 3 (A3), 114, Fig. 4 (3, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15, 23, 26, 27, 40, 41, 43), *9./10. Bericht*, S. 157, Abb. 34c, d; A. Klasens, *The Excavations of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities at Abu-Roash. Report of the Second Season: 1958: Part I*, in: *OMRO* 39, 1958, Fig. 13 (A3), 40, Fig. 14 (11).

[118] Hier mag allerdings auch die Publikationslage eine Rolle spielen.

[119] Siehe dazu vorläufig E.-M. Engel, *The Early Dynastic Pot Mark Project – A Progress Report*, in: F. Kammerzell/S. Rzepka (Hrsg.), *Non-textual Marking Systems*, *StudMon*, Hamburg (in Vorbereitung).

[120] Beispiele der 2. Dynastie aus Umm el-Qaab für kleine Weinkrüge mit einem Wulst: R. Hartmann, in: *16./17./18. Bericht*, S. 104, Abb. 14f–h; H. Köpp, in: *13./14./15. Bericht*, S. 118, Abb. 19c; für große Weinkrüge ohne Dekor: H. Köpp, in: *19./20./21. Bericht*, S. 87, Abb. 41; Dies., in: *13./14./15. Bericht*, S. 120, Abb. 20b.

[*] Unter Mitarbeit von A. I. Blöbaum, K. Butt, I. Köhler und N. Marcinczik.

[121] *19./20./21. Bericht*, S. 83–85.

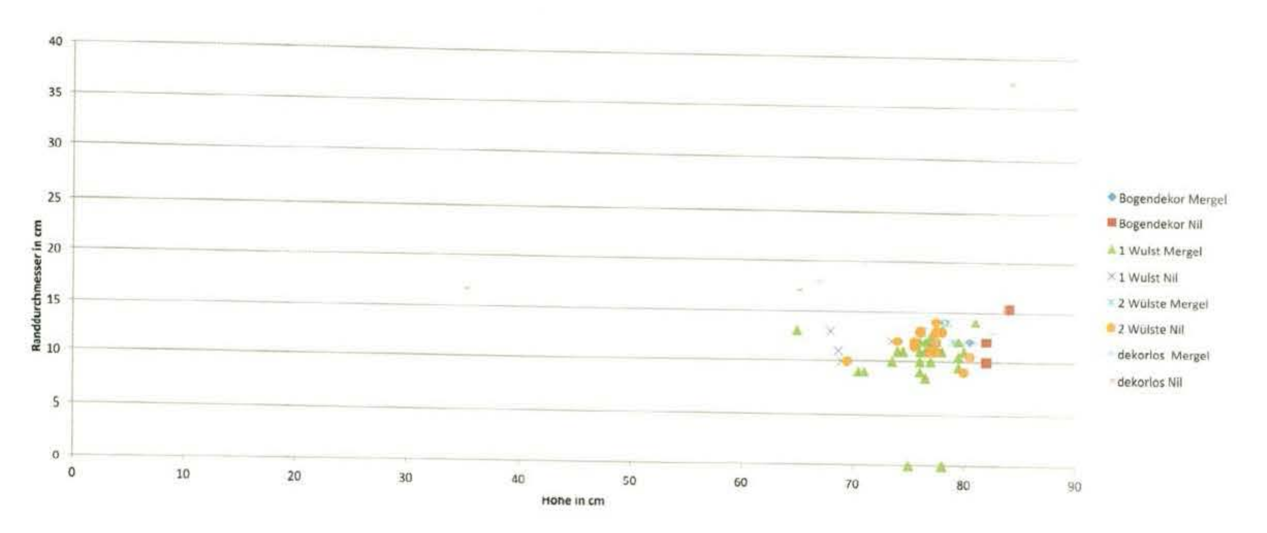


Abb. 42a Höhe der Weinkrüge im Verhältnis zu ihrem Randdurchmesser (Zeit des Semerchet)

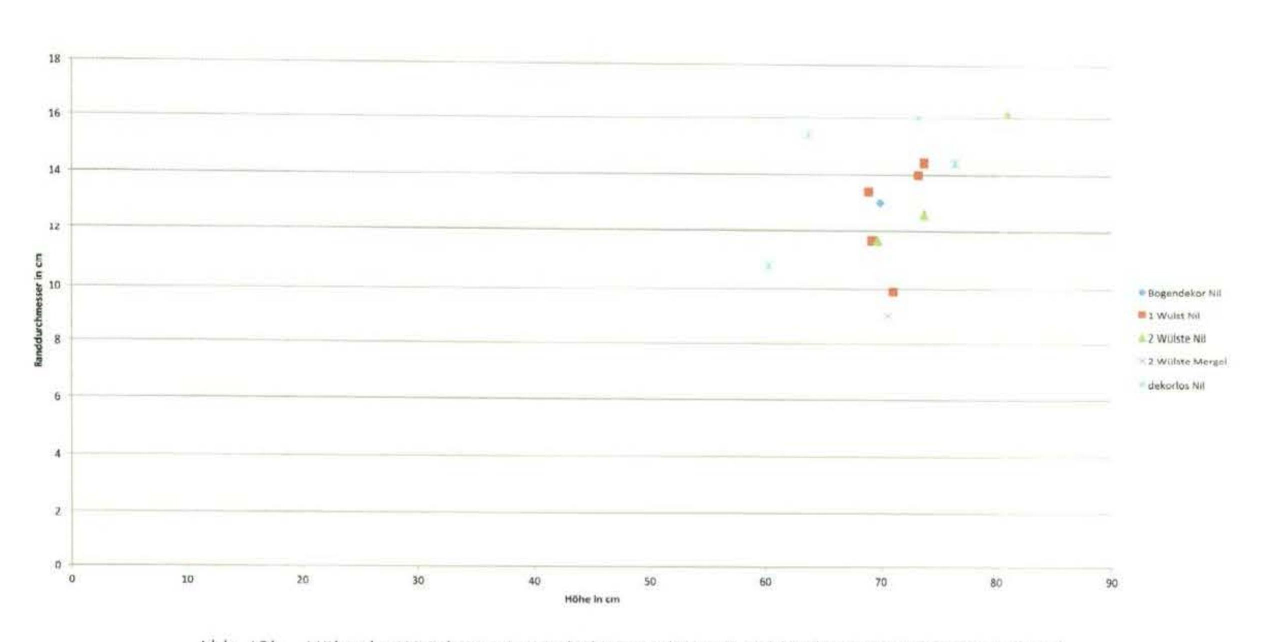


Abb. 42b Höhe der Weinkrüge im Verhältnis zu ihrem Randdurchmesser (Zeit des Dewen)

Sechemib sowie Fragmente von Weinkrügen und einigen *ḥs*-Vasen zutage, die teilweise an Stücke aus der engeren Umgebung der Grabgrube anpassen. Im Norden und Nordosten war die Fundkonzentration deutlich geringer. Neben weiteren Siegelabrollungen, einigen Bein- und Kupferobjekten wurden dort auch Streufunde aus dem Grab des Djer geborgen, unter anderem die Stele einer Frau (Ab K 6970, H 41 cm; Abb. 12). Außerdem wurde spätzeitliche Opferkeramik gefunden (zumeist *qaab*-Schälchen). In der originalen Wüstenoberfläche gab es einige (Opfer-?)Gruben, die aber sämtlich fundleer waren.

VI.2 Siegelabrollungen

Das Grab des Peribsen zählt zu den kleineren königlichen Anlagen in der Nekropole von Umm el-Qaab. Schon 1898 war es von E. Amélineau[122] und 1900 von W. M. F. Petrie[123] jeweils vollständig geleert und bei einer neuerlichen Ausgrabung um 1910 durch E. Naville[124] auch die Umgebung größtenteils freigeräumt worden. Erwartungsgemäß sind deshalb bei den Ausgrabungen des DAI Kairo nur noch spärliche Überreste der einstigen Grabausstattung zutage gekommen. Fragmente von Kleinfunden, Stein- und Keramikgefäßen wurden bereits in einem früheren Vorbericht vorgestellt[125], die Dokumentation der umfangreichsten Fundgruppe, den gesiegelten Verschlüssen, konnte unlängst abgeschlossen werden.

Aus den Altgrabungen sind 235 Siegelabrollungen bekannt, die P. Kaplony in seinem Corpus der Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit[126] zusammengestellt hat. Weitere 80, wohl aus der Grabung E. Amélineaus stammende Fragmente befinden sich im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo und sind von E.-M. Engel[127] bearbeitet worden. Bereits aus den älteren Publikationen wird der fragmentarische Zustand des Fundmaterials ersichtlich und auch die bei den neueren Grabungen gefundenen Bruchstücke und wenigen vollständigen Verschlüsse tragen oft nur Reste von Hieroglyphen oder sind durch mehrfaches Abrollen des Siegels unleserlich. Ergänzungen zu den bekannten Siegelabrollungen oder neue Belege gibt es deshalb kaum.

Die gesiegelten Verschlüsse aus dem Grab des Peribsen[128] lassen sich in zwei Materialgruppen unterteilen: Etwa 45 % (479 Belege) sind aus feinsandigem grauen Nilschlamm hergestellt und 55 % (541 Belege) bestehen aus gelbgrauem *taffl*. Letztere lassen sich zu ca. 90 % der Gruppe der Gefäßverschlüsse zuordnen, wobei der konische Typ (G2T) zu überwiegen scheint[129]. Die Unter- und Rückseiten dieser Fragmente zeigen oft noch Abdrücke eines kantigen Deckels mit anhaftenden rötlichen Farbresten und des darüberliegenden flachen, faserigen Verpackungsmaterials. Außerdem sind oft Abdrücke einer glatten, gewölbten Gefäßschulter und schmaler unregelmäßiger Zierleisten erhalten (Abb. 43a), die belegen, dass die konischen Verschlüsse auf den für die spätere 2. Dynastie typischen kleinen torpedoförmigen Weinkrügen aufsaßen[130]. Die unteren Kanten der *taffl*-Verschlüsse weisen ein grobes Muster auf, das von den dicken gedrehten Bastschnüren der Tragenetze herrühren könnte[131]. Demzufolge wären die Weinkrüge bereits vor der Versiegelung oder aber kurz nach dem Verschließen, als die Kappe noch feucht war, mit einem Tragenetz versehen worden. Der Rest der *taffl*-Fragmente umfasst große ovale Beutelverschlüsse des Typs B1T, mit tief einschneidenden Abdrücken dicker Kordel und faserigen Materials auf den Rückseiten[132].

Die Nilschlammverschlüsse sind zumeist sehr stark fragmentiert, in vielen Fällen war es deshalb nicht möglich den Verschlusstyp zu bestimmen. Stoff- oder Lederabdrücke und Abdrücke von Schnüren oder Kordel und Knoten auf den Rückseiten verweisen jedoch darauf, dass es sich hauptsächlich um halbkugelige Beutelverschlüsse (Typ B1N), bei einigen stärker gewölbten Exemplaren auch um ehemals am Hals von Gefäßen befestigte Verschlüsse (Typ G6) handelt. Daneben finden sich Verschlüsse mit glatter bzw. kantiger Struktur oder flachen Riefen und quer verlaufendem Kordelabdruck auf der Rückseite, die auf den Riegeln von Holzkisten bzw. auf Kästen aus palmrispenartigem Material angebracht gewesen sein

[122] *NF* III, S. 245–271 und 489–502, pl. XLVII–L.

[123] *RT* II, S. 11–12, 31, 33, 39, 53, Pls. XXI–XXII, XLV.

[124] E. Naville, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* I, *Memoir EEF* 33, London 1913, S. 36, Pls. IX–XI.

[125] R. Hartmann, in: *16./17./18. Bericht*, S. 102–110.

[126] *IÄF* I, S. 154–160 und *IÄF* III, Abb. 267, 268, 283–290, 302, 368, 751–763, 804.

[127] E.-M. Engel, *Neue Funde aus alten Grabungen*, in: G. Moers et al. (Hrsg.), *Jn.t ḏrw. Festschrift für Friedrich Junge*, Göttingen 2006, S. 179–188.

[128] Neben den hier angeführten, aus dem Grab stammenden Belegen fanden sich mehrere aus anderen Gräbern verworfene Verschlüsse, darunter zwölf Nilschlammverschlüsse aus dem benachbarten Grab des Djer (11mal *IÄF* 17, einmal *IÄF* 237), ein Nilschlammverschluss (*IÄF* 229) aus dem Grab des Semerchet und ein Nilschlammverschluss aus dem Grab des Qa'a (nur Teil des Serechs) sowie ein fast vollständiger konischer *taffl*-Verschluss und mehrere Fragmente mit dem Namen des Adjib.

[129] Verschlusstypen nach E.-M. Engel/V. Müller, in: *GM* 178, 2000, S. 31–43.

[130] Vgl. R. Hartmann, in: *16./17./18. Bericht*, Abb. 14f–h und dazu passender kantiger Weinkrugdeckel in Abb. 14i.

[131] G. Dreyer, *Sakkara*, in: *Rundbrief der Abteilung Kairo des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 2009, Abb. 42 (http://www.dainst.org/medien/de/daik_rundbrief_2009.pdf?ft=all). Die originalen Tragenetze an den Weinkrügen aus dem Grab des Ninetjer gehen allerdings bis zum Gefäßrand, wobei aber nicht auszuschließen ist, dass sich die Maschen im Bodenbereich gelockert haben und das ganze Netz nach oben gerutscht ist. Vgl. auch eine kleine Gefäßdarstellung aus Elfenbein, bei der das Netz am Schulteransatz unterhalb der stilisierten *taffl*-Mütze endet: U. Hartung, *Eine elfenbeinerne Gefäßdarstellung aus dem prädynastischen Friedhof U in Abydos/Umm el-Qaab*, in: D. Aston et al. (Hrsg.), *Under the Potter's Tree. Studies on Ancient Egypt. Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday*, *OLA* 204, Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2011, S. 483–494.

[132] E.-M. Engel, *a. a. O.*, S. 179, die eine solche Verteilung auch bei den in Kairo befindlichen Stücken feststellte.

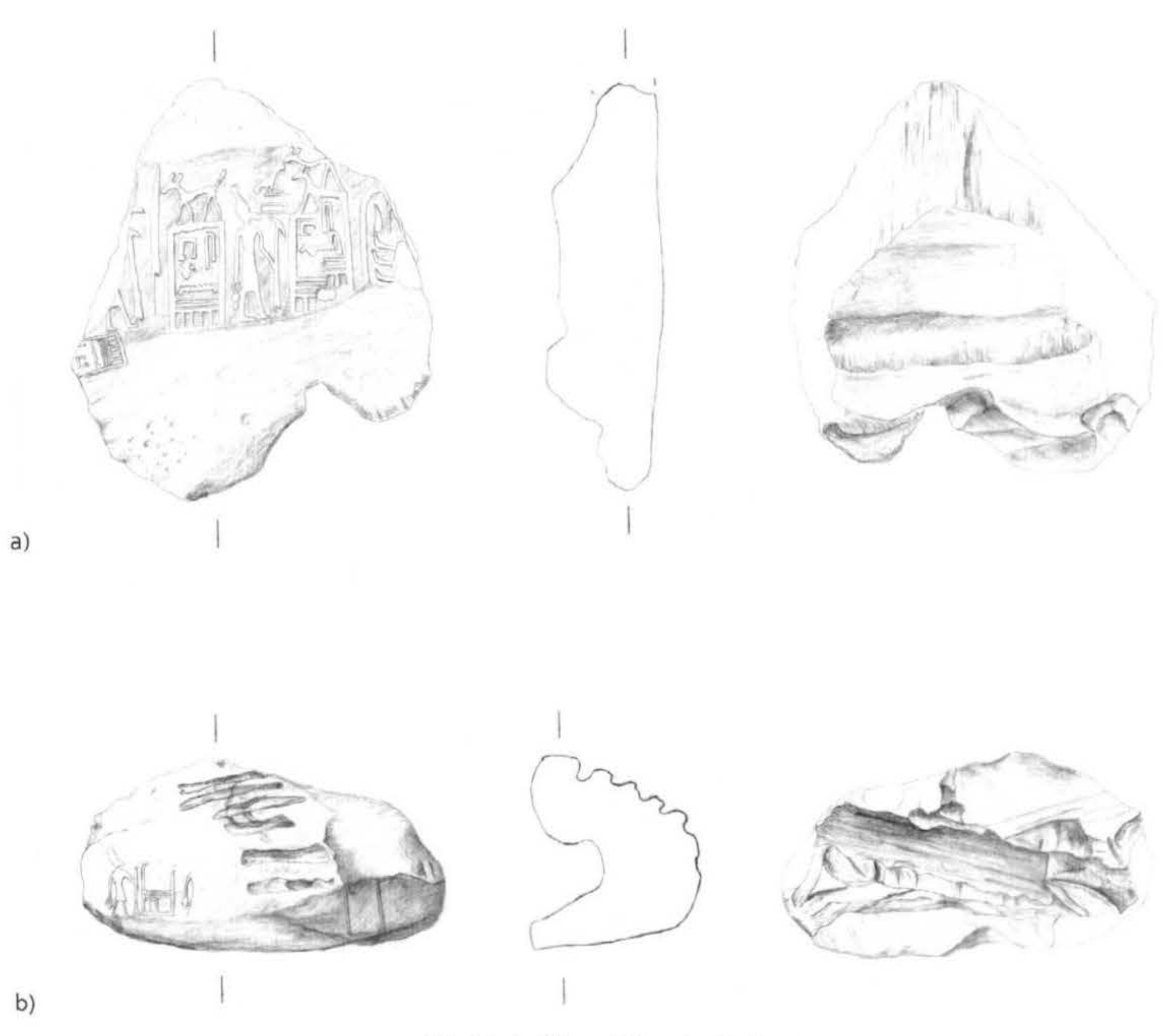


Abb. 43 *Taffl*-Verschlüsse des Peribsen
a) Gefäßverschluss, Ab K 7637c (1:2)
b) Beutelverschluss, Ab K 7643b (1:2)

dürften. Weiterhin sind kleine walzenförmige, dreieckige oder halbrunde Schnurverschlüsse (Typen S1 und S2) belegt, die an verschiedenen Behältnissen hingen, sowie einige flache zylinderförmige Verschlüsse[133] mit konkaver Rückseite (Typ P1N), die zum Versiegeln von Papyrusrollen dienten.

Die taffl-Verschlüsse

Die Siegelabrollungen auf den *taffl*-Verschlüssen umfassen ausnahmslos die bereits von P. KAPLONY[134] und E.-M. ENGEL[135] angeführten Belege, die der Domänenverwaltung des Peribsen zuzuordnen sind. Bei weitem am häufigsten ist das Siegel *IÄF* III, Abb. 286, das die Domäne *jt(j).w wjꜣ.w* und den Gott Asch nennt[136]. Es ist um die Basis der konischen Gefäßverschlüsse abgerollt und auf einigen Fragmenten in Kombination mit den senkrecht über die Kappe geführten Siegeln *IÄF* III, Abb. 283 und 284 erhalten (Abydos K 7637c, Abb. 53a). Die Siegel *IÄF* III, Abb. 284 und 285 sind seltener und immer senkrecht auf den Fragmenten konischer Gefäßverschlüsse abgerollt, entgegen früheren Belegen ist letzteres bei den Neufunden aber nie in Kombination mit anderen Siegeln vertreten. Siegel *IÄF* III, Abb. 284 findet sich ebenso wie Abb. 283 zudem auf einigen Beutelverschlüssen. Von dem bereits aus den Altgrabungen nur unvollständig überlieferten Siegel *IÄF* III, Abb. 287

[133] G. DREYER, in: *16./17./18. Bericht*, Taf. 27a.
[134] *IÄF* I, S. 154–157; *IÄF* III, Abb. 283–287.
[135] E.-M. ENGEL, *a. a. O.*, S. 179–188.
[136] Zur Lesung E.-M. ENGEL, *a. a. O.*, S. 186.

sind nur wenige kleine Fragmente zutage gekommen, die keine Ergänzungen erlauben. Sowohl Gefäßverschlüsse als auch Beutelverschlüsse aus *taffl* weisen gelegentlich nach der Siegelung in das noch weiche Material eingeschnittene Kerben oder eingestochene Punktreihen auf, die die Abrollung – in diesem Fall *IÄF* III, Abb. 283 – oft überdecken[137] (Abydos K 7643b, Abb. 43b). Solche Marken sind auch auf den Weinkrügen selbst angebracht, erinnern aber insbesondere an die in ähnlicher Weise regelmäßig mit Reihen von Kerben und Punkten versehenen Brotformen, wobei an eine Zählung der entsprechenden Behältnisse vor der Auslieferung zu denken ist[138].

Die Nilschlammverschlüsse

Während die *taffl*-Verschlüsse ausschließlich mit dem Namen des Seth Peribsen gesiegelt sind, findet sich auf den Nilschlammverschlüssen außerdem der Name des Horus Sechemib. Dieser überwiegt sogar und von den insgesamt 329 identifizierbaren Belegen erscheint 224mal der Name des Sechemib (ca. 68 %) und nur 106mal der Name des Peribsen (ca. 32 %).

Von den Abrollungen mit dem Namen des Sechemib ist wiederum das Siegel *IÄF* III, Abb. 267[139] am häufigsten vertreten (135 Belege) und obwohl das Siegel immer mehrfach über den Verschluss gerollt wurde, ist es auf keinem der Fragmente vollständig erhalten. Aus den zahlreichen Belegen lässt sich aber das bereits bekannte Siegel *ḥr.w sḫm-jb ḫrj-tp nswt js-ḏf3* rekonstruieren. Das Siegel dieser übergeordneten Verwaltung (Steueramt)[140] wurde offenbar zum Versiegeln ganz verschiedener Behältnisse und Objekte verwendet. Viele Fragmente sind größeren halbkugeligen Beutelverschlüssen zuzuweisen, auf deren Rückseiten sich Abdrücke von Stoff, Bastschnur und Knoten erhalten haben (Abydos K 7885a, Abb. 45a). Häufiger sind auch die Abdrücke flacher, leicht geriefter Oberflächen mit schmalen kantigen Vertiefungen auf der Unterseite und dicker Kordel an der Außenseite belegt, sie dürften vom glatten Holz von Kisten und deren Riegeln oder auch von Möbeln bzw. deren Verschnürung stammen (Abydos K 7883b, Abb. 45b). Außerdem lassen sich verschiedene Gefäßverschlüsse unterscheiden. Relativ flache, leicht gekrümmte Fragmente, auf deren Rückseiten sich eine kreuzweise Verschnürung abzeichnet, könnten im Schulterbereich kleinerer bis mittlerer Gefäße angebracht gewesen sein (Abydos K 7884, Abb. 44a). Flache, beinahe scheibenförmige Fragmente mit einer leicht genoppten, wohl von einer Lederabdeckung abgedrückten Innenfläche und dem Abdruck einer fein um den Rand gewickelten Verschnürung (Abydos K 7883a, Abb. 45c) deuten dagegen auf einen über der Gefäßmündung sitzenden Verschluss hin. Gerade dieser Verschluss gibt den Eindruck einer sehr feinen Verpackung. Neben qualitätvollen Keramikgefäßen, die im Grab des Peribsen aber sehr rar waren, sind deshalb vor allem die von E. Amélineau noch zahlreich gefundenen Steingefäße als zu siegelnde Objekte zu vermuten.

Weiterhin finden sich wie schon in den Altgrabungen mehrere Belege (33) für das Siegel *IÄF* III, Abb. 755, wobei lediglich kleinere Ergänzungen am oberen Abschluss des Siegels möglich sind (Abydos K 7910a, Abb. 46a). Ähnlich wie im oben beschriebenen Fall ist davon auszugehen, dass das Siegel zum Verschließen verschiedener Behältnisse verwendet wurde. Von den Siegelabrollungen des Sechemib ist außerdem ein weiterer Beleg des Siegels *IÄF* III, Abb. 268 zu erwähnen, das immerhin den oberen Teil des von P. Kaplony vorgestellten Siegels bis zur Siegelbegrenzungslinie ergänzen kann (Abydos K 7895, Abb. 46b). Das Siegel *IÄF* III, Abb. 266 ist ausschließlich auf Papyrusverschlüssen belegt, in allen vier Fällen wurde aber nur der obere Teil des Siegels abgerollt[141]. Die beiden vollständigen Exemplare haben eine regelmäßige zylindrische Form mit leicht konkaver Unterseite, die auf einer mindestens 4–5 cm (Abydos K 7899, Abb. 44b) dicken, im Querschnitt ovalen Papyrusrolle aufsaß. Auf den Rückseiten zeichnen sich Spuren der faserigen Streifen des Papyrus ab, auch sind auf beiden Verschlüssen Schnurlöcher mit substantiellen Resten der Verschnürung sowie deren Abdrücke erhalten.

In der Gruppe der Nilschlammsiegel des Peribsen fällt auf, dass neben den großen, aus grauem, häck-

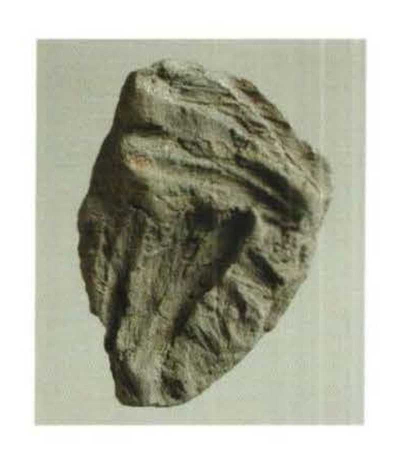
[137] *Ebd.*, S. 180.

[138] Z. B. auch Weinkrüge aus dem Grab des Peribsen: R. Hartmann, in: *16./17./18. Bericht*, Abb. 14g; und Weinkrüge aus dem Grab des Ninetjer: R. Hartmann, *Wine Jars from the Second Dynasty Royal Tombs of Ninetjer and Peribsen*, in: A. Wodzinska/T. Reuzka, *Old Kingdom Pottery Workshop* 2 (im Druck); zu den Brotformen z. B. G. Bréand, *The Corpus of Pre-firing Potmarks from Adäima (Upper Egypt)*, in: R. F. Friedman/P. N. Fiske (Hrsg.), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference „Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July – 1st August 2008*, *OLA* 205, Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2011, S. 1029–1032.

[139] *IÄF* I, S. 158 und *IÄF* II, S. 1128.

[140] *Ebd.*, S. 158.

[141] Abydos K 7896: bereits G. Dreyer, in: *13./14./15. Bericht*, Taf. 27a. Das Siegel UC 11752 ist in Größe und Form mit Abydos K 7896 zu vergleichen. Bei dem von *RT* II, Pl. VIIIA,7 publizierten Siegel handelt es sich nach Größe und Form wohl eher nicht um ein Papyrussiegel, die halbkugelige Form spricht für einen Beutelverschluss.

a)







b)




c)

Abb. 44a–c Nilschlammverschlüsse aus dem Grab des Peribsen
a) Gefäßverschluss des Sechemib, Ab K 7884
b) Papyrusverschluss des Sechemib, Ab K 7899
c) Verschluss mit Siegelabrollungen des Peribsen und des Sechemib, Ab K 7978

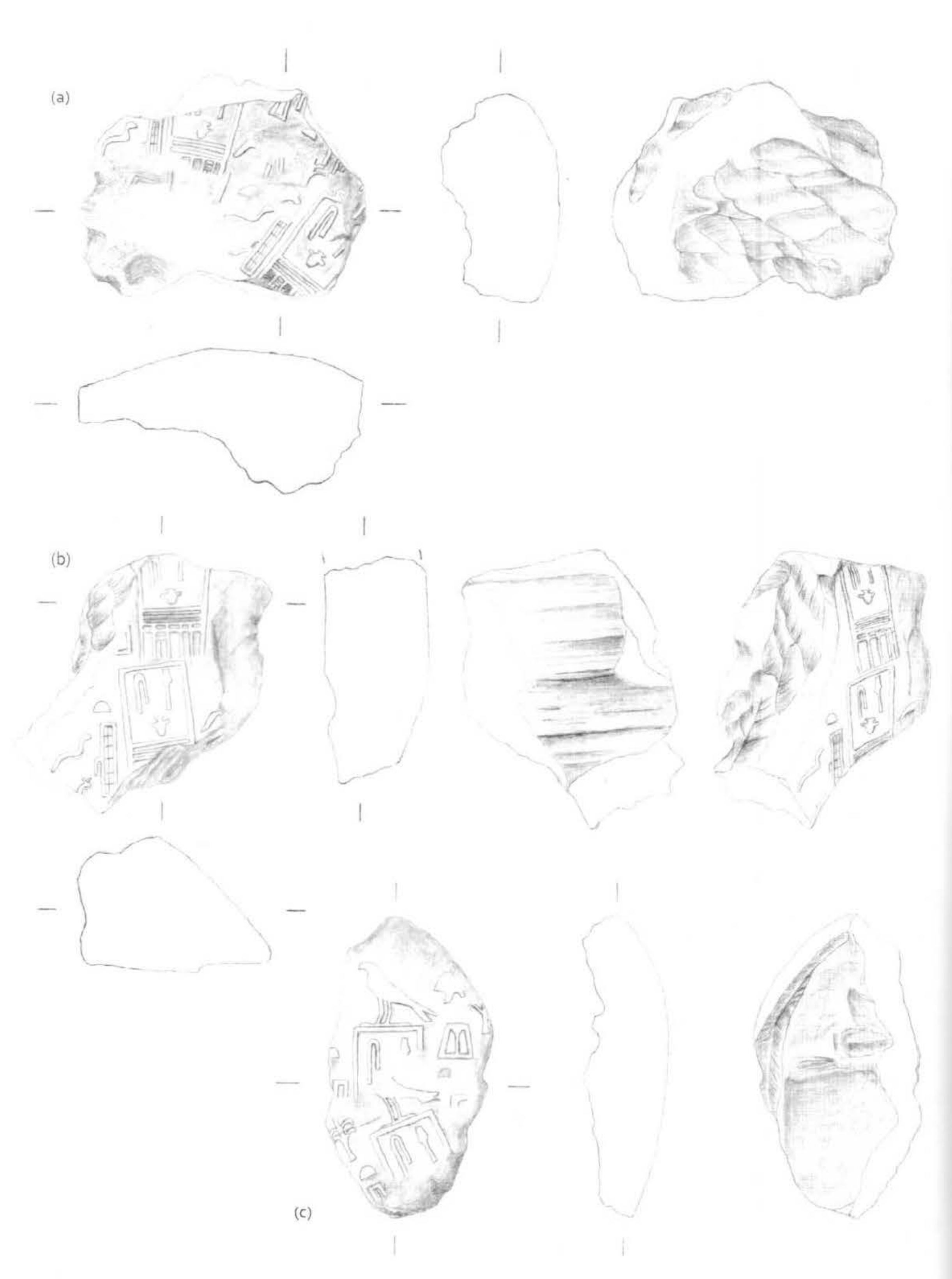


Abb. 45a–c Nilschlammverschlüsse des Sechemib, Typ *IÄF* III, Abb. 267
a) Beutelverschluss, Ab K 7885a (1:1)
b) Kastenverschluss?, Ab K 7885b (1:1)
c) Gefäßverschluss, Ab K 7883a (1:1)

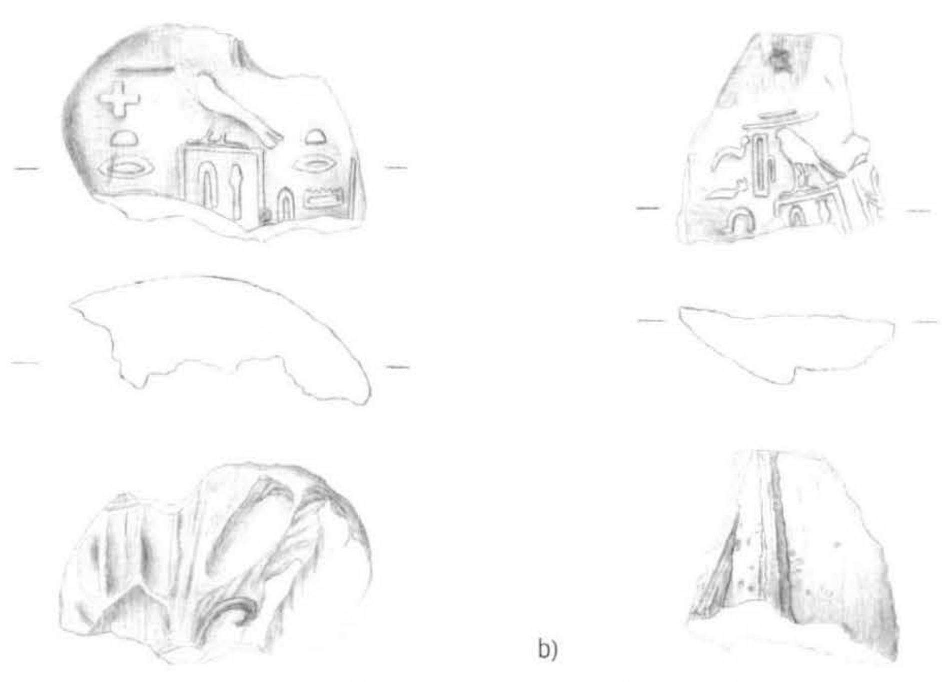
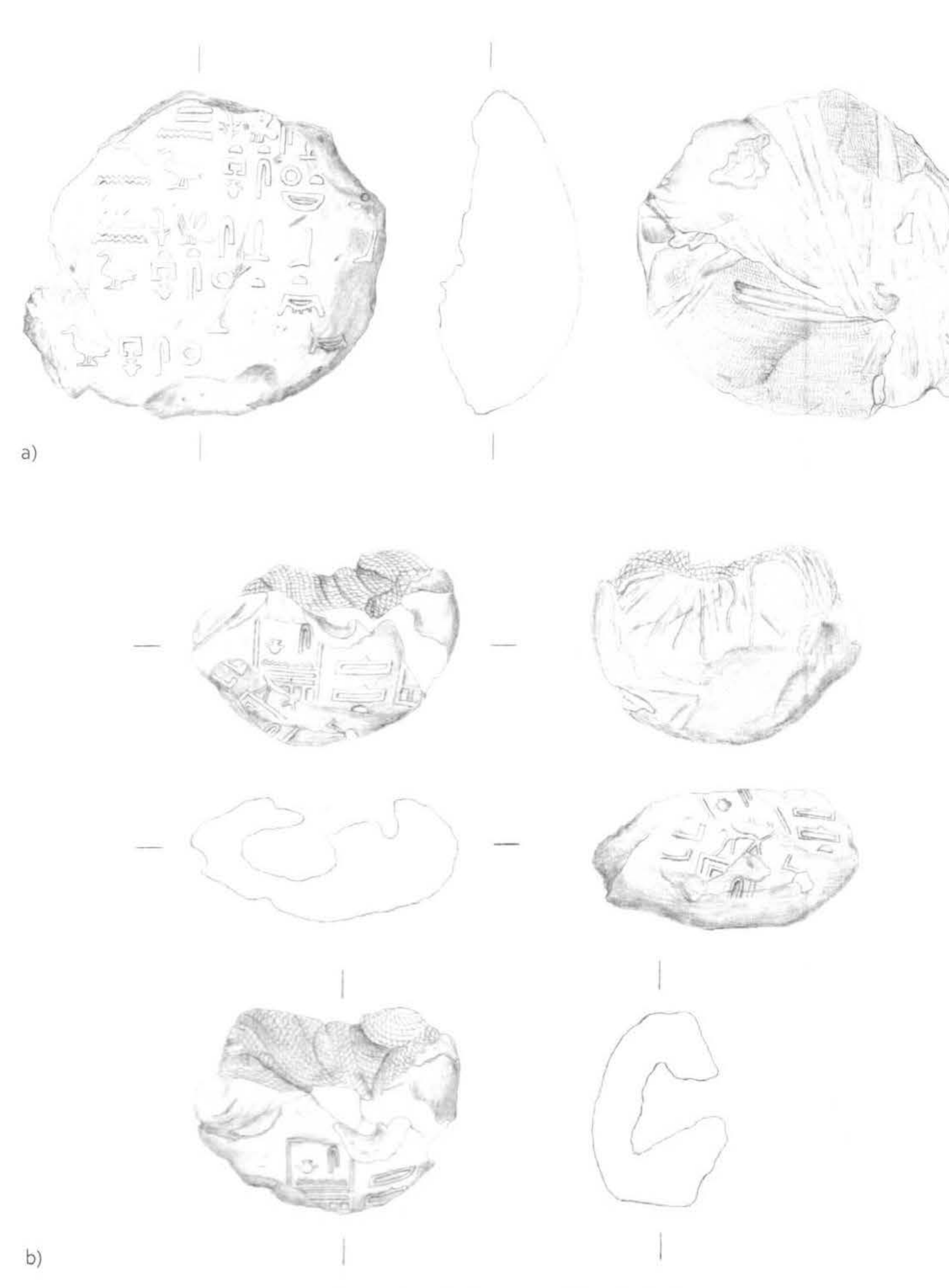


Abb. 46a–b Nilschlammverschlüsse des Sechemib
a) Kastenverschluss?, Ab K 7910a (1:1)
b) Gefäßverschluss, Ab K 7895 (1:1)

selgemagerten Nilton hergestellten halbkugeligen Beutelverschlüssen mit Abrollung *IÄF* III, Abb. 368 (insgesamt 55 Fragmente und zwei vollständige Exemplare (Abydos K 7941, Abb. 47a) vor allem verschiedene Schnurverschlüsse aus feinem dunklen Nilton, sehr kleine Beutelverschlüsse und dünne gekrümmte, möglicherweise von Gefäßen stammende Verschlüsse vorkommen, mittelgroße Beutel- und Kastenverschlüsse aber fehlen. Das Fundmaterial ist stark fragmentiert und muss noch gesichtet werden, es sei deshalb vorerst nur auf Verschlussfragmente mit dem Siegel *IÄF* III, Abb. 288 hingewiesen, das nach P. Kaplony in den Altfunden nur einmal auf einem Schnurverschluss vertreten[142], im neuen Fundmaterial aber häufig (13mal) auf Schnurverschlüssen und kleinen Beutelverschlüssen gleichermaßen belegt ist (Abydos K 7961, Abb. 47b).

Von besonderer Bedeutung ist das Fragment eines kleinen, ehemals ovalen Verschlusses, auf dem Abrollungen mit Resten beider Königsnamen erhalten sind (Abydos K 7978, Abb. 48a und Abb. 44c). Die Rückseite des Fragmentes ist stark versintert und lässt nur spärliche Abdrücke kreuz und quer verlaufender Bastschnüre erkennen, es ist deshalb ungewiss, ob ein kleiner Beutelverschluss oder ein Gefäßverschluss vorliegt. Die Vorderseite ist mehrfach gesiegelt worden, mindestens jedoch einmal von unten und gegenständig dazu einmal von oben. Im unteren Teil der Abrollung folgt auf den Zipfel eines fragmentarischen Zeichens der Serech mit dem Namen des Peribsen, auf dem noch Reste der Vorderbeine des Seth-Tieres erhalten sind. Daneben stehen zwei verdrückte bzw. nur teilweise abgerollte Zeichengruppen, die sich wohl zu *pr-ḥḏ* bzw. *pr-nswt*[143] „Schatzhaus" bzw. „Haus des Königs von Oberägypten" rekonstruieren lassen; ein weiterer Serech, von dem noch das *s* des Peribsen-Namens und ein Hinterbein des Seth-Tieres zu sehen sind, beschließen die Sequenz. In der gegenständig im oberen Bereich angebrachten Abrollung, die nach kleinen Aufwerfungen zu urteilen wahrscheinlich zuerst abgerollt und vom Siegel des Peribsen geschnitten wurde, befindet sich neben einem stark verquetschten Zeichen (*pr-ḥḏ* oder *pr-nswt*?) der Rest eines Serechs mit dem oberen Teil des Namens des Sechemib, auf dem die Beine und die Schwanzfeder des Falken erhalten sind. Die weiteren Zeichen sind abgebrochen, lassen sich aber mit einiger Sicherheit zu einer Schlange und darüberstehendem Schilfbündel, dem *js-ḏfꜣ*[144], ergänzen. Das Hinterteil eines weiteren Falken zeigt den Serech des Sechemib in der nächsten Kolumne an.

[142] *IÄF* I, S. 157; *IÄF* II, S. 1131.
[143] Dazu *IÄF* I, S. 158.
[144] *Ebd.*, S. 158; vgl. *Paleographic Study*, M40.



a)

b)

Abb. 47a–b Nilschlammverschlüsse des Peribsen
a) Beutelverschluss, Ab K 7941 (2:3)
b) Beutelverschluss, Ab K 7961 (1:1)

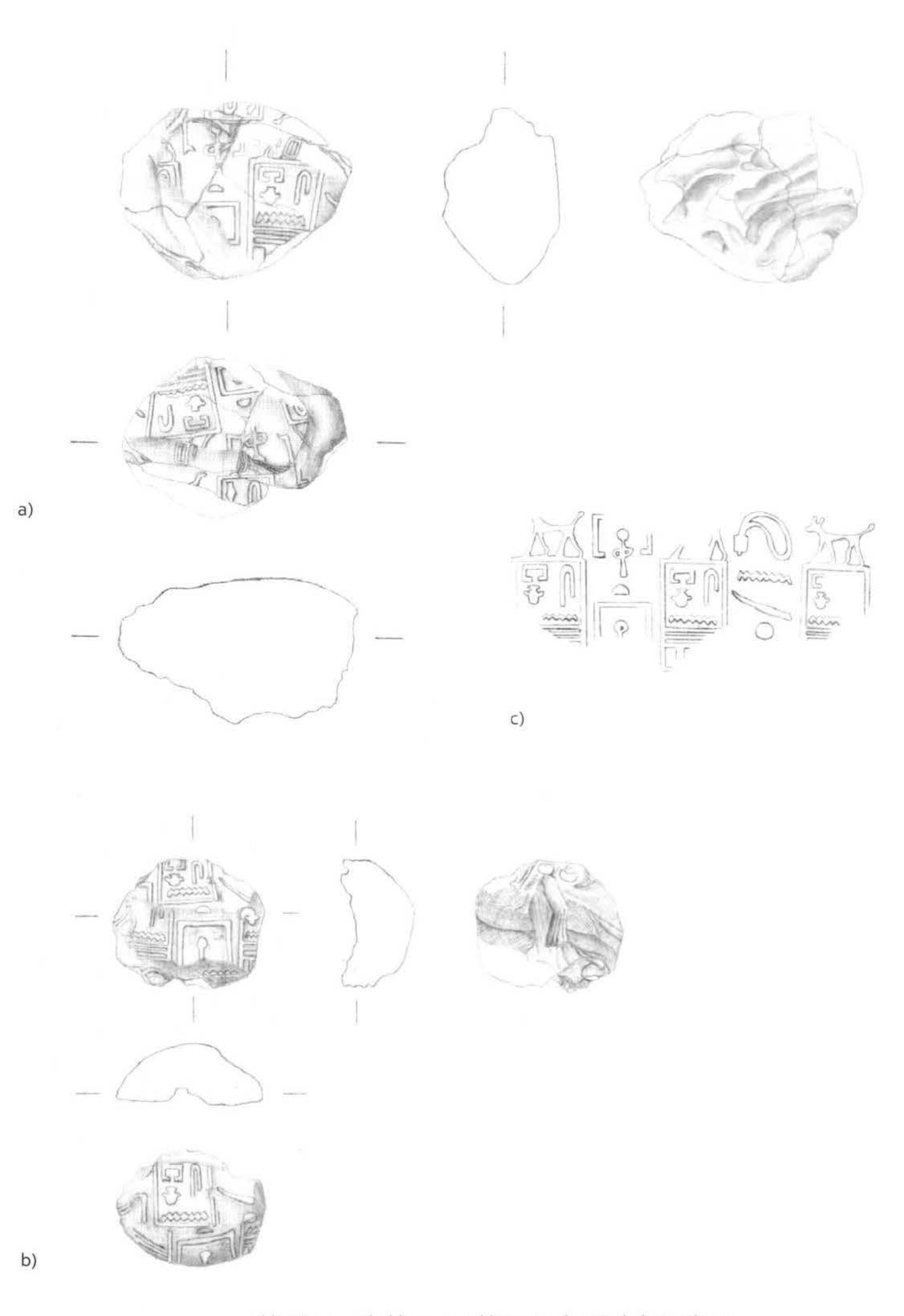


Abb. 48a–c Nilschlammverschlüsse aus dem Grab des Peribsen
a) Verschluss mit Siegelabrollungen des Peribsen und des Sechemib, Ab K 7978 (1:1)
b) Beutelverschluss mit Siegelabrollung des Peribsen, Ab K 7971 (1:1)
c) vorläufige Rekonstruktion aus den Siegeln Ab K 7978 und 7971, vgl. *IÄF* III, Abb. 290 und 762.

Obwohl die Zeichen beider Abrollungen etwa die gleiche Größe besitzen, lässt sich kein gemeinsames Siegel rekonstruieren, so dass auf diesem Verschluss wohl zwei separate Siegel verwendet wurden, von denen jeweils aber nur die Nennung der übergeordneten Instanzen *pr-ḥḏ* bzw. *js-ḏf3* auf der Abrollung erhalten ist. Die Zeichengruppe *pr-ḥḏ* bzw. *pr-nswt* + Serech Peribsen ist bereits von einigen in den Altgrabungen gefundenen Verschlussfragmenten bekannt[145] und findet sich auch auf mehreren neuen Fragmenten. Bei der Zeichengruppe auf Abydos K 7978 dürfte es sich um den Beleg *IÄF* III, Abb. 762, der in dieser Form auch in *IÄF* III, Abb. 290 vorkommt, handeln. Hier ist insbesondere ein kleiner Beutelverschluss (Abydos K 7971, Abb. 48b) mit außerordentlich feinem Stoffabdruck und Knoten auf der Rückseite und feiner, aber unvollständiger Abrollung auf der Vorderseite interessant, durch die sich – neben drei weiteren neuen Belegen, unter anderem die oben beschriebene Abrollung K 7978 – mit aller Vorsicht die Belege *IÄF* III, Abb. 290 und *IÄF* III, Abb. 762 zu einem Siegel rekonstruieren lassen. Anders als auf dem aus der Grabung E. Navilles stammenden Beleg *IÄF* III, Abb. 290, mit der Erwähnung eines untergeordneten Magazins[146] in der oberen Sequenz und der übergeordneten Verwaltung in der unteren Sequenz, scheint auf Abydos K 7971 nach den Zeichen Gardiner T30(?)[147] und N5 und dem Serech des Peribsen, im nächsten Glied *pr-ḥḏ* bzw. *pr-nsw.t* zu ergänzen sein. Zurück zu Abydos K 7978, ist dort an der linken Abbruchkante, neben dem Serech des Peribsen, der Rest eines länglichen gebogenen Zeichens zu erkennen, bei dem es sich wieder um das Zeichen Gardiner T30(?) handeln könnte. Bezieht man den aus der Grabung E. Navilles stammenden Beleg mit ein, wäre ein sechsgliedriges Siegel, in dem das untergeordnete Magazin zweimal und die übergeordnete Verwaltung des *pr-ḥḏ* bzw. *pr-nsw.t* einmal erscheint, zu rekonstruieren[148] (Abb. 48c). Die Abrollung im oberen Bereich des Verschlusses mit dem Namen des Sechemib findet in dieser Form in den Altgrabungen leider keine Parallelen. Zwar ist die Institution des *js-ḏf3* auch von anderen Siegeln des Sechemib hinlänglich bekannt (siehe oben), die Schreibung in der *s* und *sḫm* im Namen vertauscht sind, ist jedoch selten und kommt nur in zwei Belegen (*IÄF* III, Abb. 752 und 754) vor, die sich nicht an die Abrollung auf K 7978 anschließen lassen. Auf der Abrollung ist also lediglich die Sequenz *ḥr.w sḫm-[jb] js-ḏf3 [pr-ḥḏ]*[149] *ḥr.w [sḫm-jb]* zu lesen.

Das Verschlussfragment K 7978 ist insofern außergewöhnlich, weil hier zwei Amtssiegel mit jeweils verschiedenem Königsnamen zum Versiegeln eines Behältnisses verwendet wurden. Ein solcher Fall ist in frühzeitlichem Kontext bislang nicht bekannt und überdies erscheinen alle anderen Belege für Sechemib und Peribsen immer getrennt. Die Beziehung zwischen Seth Peribsen und Horus Sechemib ist noch ungeklärt und gab vor allem aufgrund spärlicher Belege für Sechemib Raum für Spekulationen zur Königsabfolge am Ende der 2. Dynastie[150]. Nach wie vor stellt sich die Frage, ob es sich um ein und dieselbe Person handelt oder ob Sechemib als Nachfolger des Peribsen anzusehen ist und in dieser Funktion letzteren bestattet hat. Da es sich bei dem Verschlussfragment K 7978 offensichtlich um ein Einzelstück handelt, kann die Abrollung wenig neues Licht auf diese Frage werfen, es sind im Gegenteil verschiedene Möglichkeiten denkbar, wie die beiden Siegel auf den Verschluss gelangten. Sicher ist lediglich, dass zum Zeitpunkt des Versiegelns des Behältnisses Beamte der Verwaltungseinheiten im Namen beider Könige anwesend waren. Dies könnte implizieren, dass es sich bei Peribsen und Sechemib um zwei verschiedene Personen handelt, die – in welcher Form auch immer – zumindest zeitweise parallel regierten, bzw. könnte Sechemib auch der designierte Nachfolger des Peribsen gewesen sein. Dabei wäre beispielsweise vorstellbar, dass der Inhalt eines Behältnisses bei der Anlieferung zur Grabausstattung des Peribsen ausnahmsweise kontrolliert und anschließend neu gesiegelt werden musste. Es ist dennoch nicht ganz auszuschließen, dass Sechemib der ältere, in der späteren Regierungszeit abgelegte Horusname des Peribsen war. In diesem Fall könnte man es mit einem einmaligen – wenn auch sehr unwahrscheinlichen – Vorgang zu tun haben, indem ein Siegel mit dem Namen des Sechemib durch den des Peribsen ersetzt und eine Doppelsiegelung notwendig wurde. Wenig wahrscheinlich erscheint es dagegen, dass beide Na-

145 Z. B. *IÄF* III, Abb. 290, 751, 752, 753, 759, 760, 762; vgl. auch E. Naville, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* I, *Memoir EEF* 33, London 1913, Pl. IX oben rechts; *RT* II, Pl. XXI, 167, 169, 174; Pl. XXIII, 182, 183.

146 *IÄF* I, S. 159 und *IÄF* III, S. 1131.

147 A. H. Gardiner, *EG*, S. 485 und 515. Siehe allerdings auch die Schreibung bei *Paleographic Study*, F16.

148 Vgl. *IÄF* I, S. 158–160.

149 Vgl. die Kombination *js-ḏf3* und *pr-ḥḏ* auf *IÄF* III, Abb. 753 für Sechemib und 757 bzw. 760 für Peribsen.

150 Zusammenfassend J. Kahl, *Inscriptional Evidence for the Relative Chronology of Dyns. 0–2*, in: E. Hornung/R. Krauss/D. A. Warburton (Hrsg.), *Egyptian Chronology*, *HdO* 83, Leiden/Boston 2006, S. 105; T. A. H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, London 1999, S. 90

men parallel von ein und derselben Person benutzt wurden, zumal die Inschriften der Grabstelen eindeutig nur den Namen des Peribsen nennen[151]. Da die Aufzeichnungen von E. AMÉLINEAU[152] zur Fundlage der Siegelabrollungen nicht sehr aufschlussreich sind, ist heute kaum mehr nachzuvollziehen, ob eine ähnliche Situation wie etwa im Grab des Qa'a, wo mehrere Siegelbullen des Hetepsechemui nahe dem Eingang gefunden wurden[153], vorliegt. Auch zur ungewöhnlichen prozentualen Verteilung der verschiedenen Verschluss- und Siegeltypen lassen sich mit dem derzeitigen Kenntnisstand der frühzeitlichen Verwaltungsstruktur noch keine zusätzlichen Hinweise finden, so dass die Frage nach der Identität des Sechemib wohl weiterhin vorerst offenbleiben muss.

R. H.

VII. Grab des Chasechemui

VII.1 Keramik

Die Bearbeitung der Keramik aus dem Grab des Chasechemui galt vor allem den Niltongefäßen wie Bierflaschen, Brotformen, Schalen, *nmst*-Gefäßen und flachen Tellern etc., außerdem wurde die Untersuchung der Mergeltongefäße mit bestimmten Fragestellungen fortgesetzt[154].

VII.1.1 Niltongefäße

Von den Niltongefäßen konnten einige kleinere Fundgruppen wie die Brotformen und die *nmst*-Gefäße vollständig aufgearbeitet werden (siehe unten). Weitergeführt wurden die Untersuchungen der Streifenschälchen, roten Schalen und flachen Teller, von denen ein breites Spektrum aufgenommen wurde, sowie der mittelgroben und groben Niltongefäße (Wiener System Ib2 und Ic) ohne Überzug wie Bottiche oder große Schalen. Bei diesen war festzustellen, dass mindestens die Hälfte der Ränder und Böden sehr zerscherbt, durch Windschliff angegriffen oder in nur noch extrem geringem Randdurchmesser erhalten sind.

Bierflaschen

Die Anzahl der Bierflaschen ist überaus hoch und übersteigt die der Weinkrüge[155] bei weitem. Oftmals waren ganze Gefäße[156] oder zumindest vollständige Profile zu rekonstruieren. Darunter befinden sich nur wenige Kragenhalsgefäße bzw. solche mit Besenstrich-Verzierung. Das Gewicht der weitestgehend vollständigen Bierflaschen liegt bei etwa 1000 g (1020 g bei Z 78, 1080 g bei Z 77), doch sind auch weitaus schwerere belegt wie z. B. Z 224 mit 2450 g oder Z 428 mit sogar 3080 g. Die Glättung erfolgte in den meisten Fällen per Hand, oftmals sind Verstrichspuren sowie deutliche, tiefe Eindrücke einzelner Finger sichtbar, mitunter ganze Handabdrücke (Z 8). Selten ist innen und außen (Z 66) eine Spatelglättung zu beobachten. Der Übergang von Rand zu Schulter reicht von einfacher, leicht eingezogener Randlippe ohne Schulterausformung (z. B. Z 40[157]) über leicht ausladende Schulter (Z 437) bis hin zu deutlich abgesetztem Rand mit tiefer, umlaufender Einschnürung darunter und prägnanter Schulter (z. B. Z 428, 454). Mitunter sind eine oder mehrere parallel verlaufende Rillen auf der Außenseite des Randes zu beobachten (z. B. Z 447, 451). Grundsätzlich sind zwei Arten von Böden zu unterscheiden: Während eine Variante eine rundliche Form aufweist, ist die andere spitz zulaufend mit stumpfem Ende. Bei einigen wurde der Boden vom Töpfer vermutlich mit Daumen, Zeigefinger und Mittelfinger „zugedreht". Kantigere Bodenausformungen sind selten (Z 330). Alle Bodenvarianten sind nicht getrennt angefertigt, sondern in einem Stück mit dem Körper geformt. Die Grundform der Bierflaschen ist zumeist langgestreckt; bauchige, gestauchte Varianten sind selten (Z 398). Sie sind aus einem groben, mit viel Magerung versehenen Nilton gefertigt, der neben Kalkbrocken und anderem sehr viel Häcksel aufweist (Wiener System Ic). Überraschend ist die Tatsache, dass ca. ein Dutzend Gefäße aus einer Mischung von Mergelton und Nilton gefertigt waren. Allen diesen ist gemein, dass sie eine einfache, abgerundete, mitunter leicht eingezogene Randlippe ohne spezifische Schulterausprägung aufweisen. Der Verstrich erfolgt bis ca. 5 cm parallel zum Rand. Der Rest des Gefäßes ist handgeglättet, die

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151 *RT* II, Pl. XXXI.
152 *NF* III, S. 245–271.
153 E.-M. ENGEL, in: *7./8. Bericht*, S. 71–72.
154 Für die Anfertigung von Zeichnungen in diesen Kampagnen danke ich U. SIKORA, S. MÜLLER und B. BÖHM sehr herzlich. Überdies gilt mein Dank R. HARTMANN und J. BUDKA für ihre Diskussionsbereitschaft zu den Mergeltonen.
155 Zu den Weinkrügen aus dem Grab des Chasechemui siehe H. KÖPP, in: *13./14./15. Bericht*, S. 119–121, 122–123, Abb. 19c, 20b, Taf. 25a, b; DIES., in: *19./20./21. Bericht*, S. 87–88, Abb. 41–42.
156 DIES., in: *13./14./15. Bericht*, S. 117, Abb. 19d, Taf. 25.
157 *Ebd.*

Oberfläche vergleichsweise glatt verstrichen. Fingerabdrücke bzw. Eindellungen sind weniger prägnant als bei gröberen Ausführungen von Biertöpfen. Sie sind also geringfügig sorgfältiger gearbeitet als die Varianten aus Nilton. Nichtsdestotrotz zeigen die Gefäße insgesamt die typischen Bearbeitungsspuren von Bierflaschen dieser Zeitstufe. Die Verarbeitung erfolgte also ebenso wie im Falle der Flaschen aus Nilton, nur dass ein anderes Ausgangsmaterial gewählt wurde. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um eine besondere Charge als Beigabe für den verstorbenen König.

Brotformen

Bei der Bearbeitung der Brotformen wurde eine Typologie in Bezug auf die verschiedenen Rand- und Bodenformen sowie deren Übergangsformen erarbeitet. Insgesamt waren nur sehr wenige komplette Profile erhalten bzw. zu rekonstruieren. Zumeist sind die Brotformen unverziert, selten sind Fingereindrücke an der Außenseite zu beobachten. Keine weist eine Ritzmarke auf. Die Übergänge der Ränder sind fließend, eine eindeutig vorherrschende Ausführung liegt nicht vor. Die Randvarianz reicht von eckigen bis zu abgerundeten Ausprägungen. Mitunter sind Absätze bzw. umlaufende Vertiefungen auf der Innenseite belegt. Bei den Böden ist ebenfalls keine vorherrschende Form auszumachen. Neben solchen mit geglättetem, ausgezogenem Boden ähneln einige den Varianten 5 und 6 von Typ A1 nach H. Jacquet-Gordon[158].

nmst-Gefäße

Auch bei der Bearbeitung der sog. *nmst*-Gefäße[159] wurde eine Typologie erstellt. Die Gefäße bestehen aus Nilton Ic nach dem Wiener System mit viel feinem Sand, Dung und mitunter Glimmer (Z 235) sowie Häckselausbrennungen bis zu ca. 1 cm. Der hellrote, dünne Überzug liegt in den meisten Fällen bei 10R 6/4 mit Farbchangierungen zu 7,5YR 5/6 (Z 244). Die Ränder reichen von einfachen Randlippen bis zu *roll rims*. Bisweilen befindet sich auf der Schulter ein Grat (Z 57, Z 247), in zwei Fällen befanden sich Rand-parallele Erhöhungen auf der Schulter (Z 236, Z 234). Auffällige gleichgerichtete Linien, hervorgerufen durch einen Spatel, treten nur bei zwei Exemplaren auf (Z 46[160], Z 57). Spatelbreiten von 1,6 cm (Z 58) und 2,2 cm (Z 46) belegen, dass diese Spatel nicht einheitlich, also nicht ‚standardisiert' waren. Es scheint keine zum Bearbeiten von Gefäßen perfekte Breite gegeben zu haben, sondern man wählte sein Werkzeug nach individuellen Vorzügen. Der Gefäßkörper zieht zum Boden hin leicht ein. In nur einem Fall war eine flache Einschnürung kurz über dem Standboden zu beobachten (Z 255).

VII.1.2 Mergeltongefäße

Obwohl zu vermuten war, dass wegen der großen Menge ausgesonderten Materials aufgrund des Zerstörungsgrades durch den Inhaltsstoff[161] nicht viele der dünnwandigen ovoiden Mergeltonefäße zu rekonstruieren wären, fanden sich erfreulicherweise doch mehr vollständige Profile zusammen als zunächst erwartet. Insgesamt ist festzustellen, dass die Randformen eine breite Varianz aufweisen. In Bezug auf die Verortung der ovoiden Vorratsgefäße aus Mergelton im Grab lag das Augenmerk darauf, möglichst aus jeder Kammer ein Ensemble von Formen zu untersuchen. Dieser Teilbereich der Bearbeitung dauert weiterhin an.

Im Fortgang der Untersuchung kristallisierte sich heraus, dass innerhalb der ovoiden Vorratsgefäße mindestens zwei Arten der Bearbeitung zu unterscheiden sind (Abb. 49): Bei einem Typus setzt an der Schulter eine verhältnismäßig grobe Spatelglättung ein. Er weist von der Schulter bis zum Boden eine charakteristische, durch mitgerissene Partikel offene Oberfläche auf (z. B. Z 378). Eine weitere Variante ist sorgsam bis unten geglättet und insgesamt besser gearbeitet (z. B. Z 303, 317).

Ziel war überdies die Analyse, ob die Gefäße, die von ihrem Inhaltsstoff zerstört wurden, einer bestimmten Randform oder Herstellungsart zuzuordnen sind, oder ob die Flüssigkeit in Gefäße des gesamten Formenspektrums abgefüllt worden war. Zum derzeitigen Stand der Untersuchungen scheint der Großteil der durch den Inhaltsstoff zerstörten ovoiden Mergeltongefäße zumeist der weniger sorgfältig gearbeiteten Variante anzugehören. Doch

[158] H. Jacquet-Gordon, *A Tentative Typology of Egyptian Bread Moulds*, in: D. Arnold, *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, *SDAIK* 9, Mainz 1981, Abb. 1.

[159] Zu diesem Gefäßtyp siehe H. Köpp, in: *13./14./15. Bericht*, S. 122, Abb. 19d, Taf. 25d; Dies., in: *19./20./21. Bericht*, S. 90.

[160] H. Köpp, in: *13./14./15. Bericht*, S. 122, Abb. 19d.

[161] Vgl. *ebd.*, S. 117; Dies., in: *19./20./21. Bericht*, S. 89. G. Dreyer geht davon aus, dass es sich bei dem Inhaltsstoff um Leinöl handelt (mündliche Mitteilung 31.3.2014), basierend auf den Zerstörungen der im Grab U-j gefundenen Keramik, die ähnlich aussehen, siehe G. Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab I. Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*, *AV* 86, Mainz 1998, Taf. 13a.



Abb. 49 Ovoides Mergeltongefäß der besser gearbeiteten Variante (links, Z 318) und der weniger gut gearbeiteten (rechts, Z 378)

wurde diese Gefäßvariante offenbar nicht ausschließlich für eine Art von Inhaltsstoff gewählt. Man nutzte sie auch für andere Flüssigkeiten, zeigen einige Gefäße doch keinerlei Zersetzungsanzeichen. Sowohl bei einigen der weniger sorgfältig als auch bei den besser bearbeiteten ovoiden Mergeltongefäßen sind noch Rückstände des ehemaligen Inhaltsstoffes in Form von Verkrustungen erkennbar, wie dies auch bereits bei den großen Mergeltongefäßen zu beobachten war (Abb. 50, 51). Offenbar erfolgte die Zersetzung bzw. Trocknung des Inhaltes in mehreren Stufen, die sich in zwei oder sogar mehreren Verkrustungsphasen niederschlagen, die oftmals gleich unter dem Hals bzw. in der mittleren Hälfte des Gefäßes sowie im unteren Bereich liegen.

VII.1.2.1 Transportspuren

Bei einem der ovoiden Mergeltongefäße waren außen Abdrücke von Transporteinschnürungen erkennbar (Abb. 52). Bei diesen Einschnürungen sind verschiedene Varianten zu beobachten. Einige bestehen in einer großmaschigen Netzform. Bereits auf Gefäßen der Naqada-Zeit sind solche Einschnürungen als Bemalung wiedergegeben, z. B. bei einem heute in Leipzig befindlichen Gefäß aus Tarkhan[162]. Andere konnten mitunter aufwendig gestaltet und sehr

[162] F. STEINMANN, *Tongefäße von der vordynastischen Zeit bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches, Katalog Ägyptischer Sammlungen in Leipzig* 2, Mainz 1998, S. 45, Taf. 43, Kat.-Nr. 94.



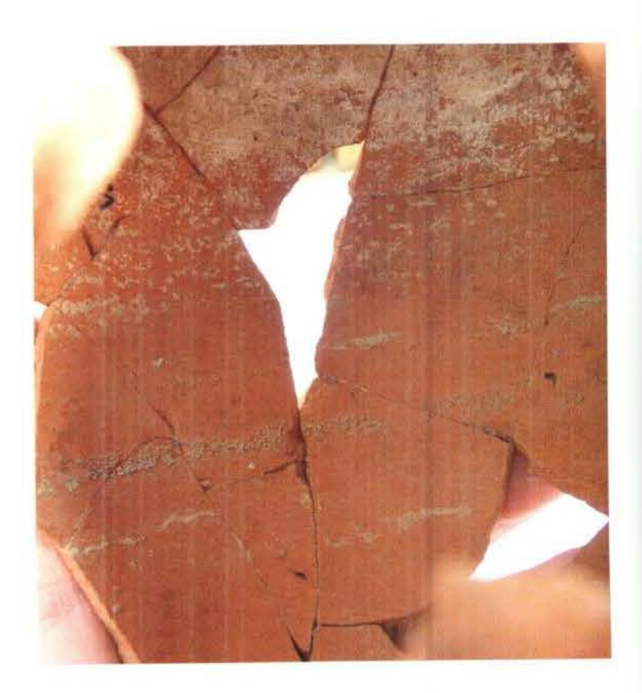


Abb. 50 Verkrustungen durch die Zersetzung des Inhaltes in mehreren Phasen (oben) auf der Innenseite eines ovoiden Mergeltongefäßes (Z 377, links)

kunstvoll ausgeführt sein und den ganzen Gefäßkörper bedecken[163]. Sie dienten zum einen dazu, Schlaufen zu schaffen, mit denen die Gefäße per Tragestangen oder Jochen transportiert werden konnten, zum anderen erfüllte die Einschnürung eine Schutzfunktion, indem sie die Gefahr des Zerbrechens minderten. Bei den kunstvolleren Varianten besteht über den praktischen Nutzen hinaus ein dekorativer Aspekt. Selbstverständlich war der Transport per Tragestange oder Joch nur eine Möglichkeit zur Beförderung von Gefäßen. Eine weitere bestand darin, sie in von Eseln getragenen Körben zu verstauen. Auch hier war eine Umschnürung als Schutz des Gefäßes sinnvoll. Galt es nur ein Gefäß zu transportieren, so wurde dies oftmals ohne Schutzverschnürung mittels einer Umwicklung um den Hals mit einer Schlaufe versehen und per Hand oder in der Armbeuge getragen[164]. Das betreffende Gefäß aus Abydos (Z 388) scheint zumindest in der unteren Hälfte mit Schutzumschnürungen zum Transport versehen gewesen zu sein.

VII.1.2.2 Waren

Bei den Mergeltonen aus dem Grab des Chasechemui sind im Prinzip vier Gruppen zu unterscheiden[165]. Einige

[163] W. M. F. Petrie, *Qurneh*, *BSAE* 16, London 1909, Pls. 27, 28; K.-J. Seyfried, *Das Grab des Amonmose (TT 373)*, *Theben* 4, Mainz 1990, Taf. 59; H. E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn at Thebes*, New York 1932, Nachdruck 1973, Abb. 18. Hier geht die Verschnürung von einem Verstärkungsring am Boden des Gefäßes aus.

[164] Ausführlich zum Transport in pharaonischer Zeit siehe H. Köpp-Junk, *Reisen im Alten Ägypten. Reisekultur, Fortbewegungs- und Transportmittel in pharaonischer Zeit*, *GOF* IV/55, Wiesbaden 2014, S. 81–160 (im Druck).

[165] Diese vier Hauptgruppen waren in weitere Untergruppen zu unterteilen.



Abb. 51 Verkrustungen auf der Innenseite eines großen Mergeltongefäßes (Z 41)



Abb. 52 Abdrücke von Transportverschnürungen auf einem ovoiden Mergeltongefäß (Z 388)

der Waren gehören der A-Gruppe nach dem Wiener System an. Diverse sind speziell als Varianten von A1 zu verstehen. Daneben sind in Abydos spezielle Waren vertreten, die im Wiener System und späterer Zeit nicht belegt sind. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um lokale Tonlagerstätten, die später nicht mehr genutzt wurden oder ab einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt erschöpft waren. Die letzte Gruppe schließlich stellen Waren dar, bei denen es sich möglicherweise um Mischtone handelt, deren Hauptmenge Mergelton war. Die Grundmasse zeigt eine eindeutige Salzsäurereaktion.

H. K.-J.

Abstract

During the 22nd–24th campaign of the German Archaeological Institute Cairo at the royal necropolis of Abydos/Umm el Qaab in 2007/08, 2008/09 and 2009/10 fieldwork concentrated on the tomb of Djer. Investigations of a smaller scale were carried out at the burial chamber of king Wadj (23rd campaign), to the south-east of the tomb of Dewen/Den (22nd campaign), and to the north of the tomb of Peribsen (22nd–23rd campaign)[166]. At the king's chamber of Dewen/Den the restoration was completed (24th campaign).

The study of finds was focused on the following groups of material:

Cemetery U: pottery, small finds, human bones
Cemetery B: small finds
Tomb of Djer: small finds (particularly seal impressions)
Tomb of Dewen/Den: pottery, stone vessels, small finds
Tomb of Semerchet: pottery, seal impressions, furniture inlays of bone and ivory
Tomb of Peribsen: seal impressions (completed)
Tomb of Khasekhemwy: pottery, stone vessels, small finds (completed, except the seal impressions)
Inscribed labels

The results pertaining to the cult of Osiris are analysed in a separate project 'Osiris in Abydos'[167].

[166] The directions of the compass refer to the Nile: NW = N, NO = O etc.

[167] U. Effland/J. Budka/A. Effland, *Studien zum Osiriskult in Umm el-Qaab/Abydos – Ein Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 66, 2011, S. 19–91; U. Effland/A. Effland, *Abydos – Tor zur Ägyptischen Unterwelt*, Darmstadt/Mainz 2013.

Tomb of Djer

The king's chamber was emptied completely. The floor is very well preserved. It consists of a brick pavement covered with mud plaster and shows impressions of semi-circular wooden beams which supported the floor planks of a large wooden shrine. Imprints and some fragments of large rectangular wooden beams in front of the western wall and at the edges of the separation walls indicate the frame of the shrine measuring 8,65 × 9,95 m. The mudbrick walls separating 16 side chambers to the north, east, and south were built against the wooden sides of the shrine. Traces of pigment on one of the separation walls show that the shrine was painted red. In some of the side chambers impressions of pottery vessels were found. In the centre of the chamber there are remains of a second mudfloor a few cm above the original floor. This second floor most probably belongs to the Middle Kingdom restoration phase when the tomb was converted to represent the burial place of Osiris. The level of this floor corresponds to the bottom level of the staircase built on a thin layer of sand in the northwestern corner of the chamber.

Of the more than 300 subsidiary burials surrounding the king's chamber the rows to the south and west, three of the five rows to the north, and the southern part of the long row to the east were uncovered. Altogether 101 chambers were emptied. Several chambers have been enlarged by hacking out the walls to gain more space for the coffins. Construction joints, the arrangement of the chambers as well as alterations of the division walls indicate several building phases during which the number of subsidiary burials was increased time and again. The last ones seem to have been added in great haste on the occasion of the king's burial.

In the fill of the king's chamber and the subsidiary chambers large amounts of pottery and stone vessel fragments were found. Noteworthy are also numerous seal impressions and small finds of exceptional quality.

Tomb of Wadj

The western retaining wall of the hidden tumulus in the tomb pit above the king's chamber was uncovered again in order to check some reference points for the general plan of the necropolis. The northwestern corner which had not been visible in 1988 was also revealed. It is well preserved up to its original height of ca 1.20 m, plastered outside but with bricks in and out on the inside. In the pit a pottery fragment with an ink inscription of Sekhemkasedj was found.

Tomb of Dewen/Den

At the king's chamber the restoration of the western wall was completed. Some gaps in the old masonry were filled in to stabilize the structure and to prevent birds from nesting there. To the north, east and south the earlier reconstruction of the outer edge of the roof which had been damaged by windblown sand was newly plastered. To the west the yet missing reconstruction of the edge of the roof was completed to indicate its original height there. The staircase to the king's chamber and the southwestern annex which served as a statue chamber were cleaned and the final state of restoration with new wooden roof beams was photographed.

To the southeast of Dewen's tomb modern dump hills were partly removed to investigate whether a 'processional street' made of two rows of pottery vessels from the 25th Dynasty discovered in 2003 might extend further to the south. Altogether an area of ca. 44 × 19 m was cleared but it turned out that no traces of the processional road are preserved.

Tomb of Peribsen

To the northwest and northeast of the tomb of Peribsen which had been excavated in 2002/03, the original desert surface was cleared from debris accumulations and windblown sand. The layers contained several seal impressions of Peribsen and Sekhem-ib, a few bone and copper objects and some scattered objects from the tomb of Djer including a stela of a woman.

Analysis/Study of finds

In the course of processing the numerous bag sealings from the tomb of Djer impressions of a seal with a unique scene came to light, showing a priest/the king(?) lifting a hippo above his head.

A special group of the equipment of the tomb of Dewen/Den are the so called 'fancy' stone vessels. During the reinvestigation of the DAI ca. 500 fragments of such vessels were found. Some of them join pieces of the earlier excavations. Another group of prestige objects are the small bottles imported from the Levante (PETRIE's Aegean ware). At the tomb approximately 250 fragments of such vessels were found. The variety of types indicates a well-established trade network. One of the newly reconstructed seal impressions of Dewen/Den mentioning the vineyard "southern *šḥ*ꜥ" can be associated with the imported ware.

In the course of the study of the wine jars of Semerkhet four types of decoration could be defined.

On base of the rim form one type can be associated with jar stoppers sealed with *IÄF* III, Abb. 243. The capacity of some vessels seems to refer to ancient Egyptian units. For comparison the ratio of height to capacity and height to rim diameter of the wine jars from the tombs of Semerkhet and Dewen/Den was calculated.

During the re-excavation of the tomb of Peribsen ca. 1000 (fragments of) sealings were found. All *taffl*-sealings (ca. 55 %) show the name of Peribsen. Amongst the 330 (readable) seal impressions on Nile-clay, however, Sekhemib occurs twice as often as Peribsen. Of special importance is a sealing with different seal impressions of both: Horus Sekhemib and Seth Peribsen. On this base the disputed question of the position of Sekhemib needs to be reconsidered.

In respect to the pottery from the tomb of Khasekhemwy the study of bread moulds and *nmst*-vessels of Nile-clay was completed. Among the beer jars a small group is fabricated of a mixture of Nile- and marl clay. Despite the poor preservation of the shards several ovoid marl vessels could be reconstructed. One shows traces of a carrying net.

G. D.

Ptah's Role as Patron of Craftsmen and the Epithet "South-of-his-Wall"

By Katherine Eaton*

"South-of-his-wall" (*rsy inb.f*) is a common epithet of the god Ptah, first appearing in the Old Kingdom and continuing to be used into the Greco-Roman Period[1]. Since at least Sethe's 1905 work on the founding of Ptah's cult center in Memphis, "his wall" has been understood as shorthand for the white walls of the city of Memphis [*inb(.w)-ḥḏ*][2]. This, in turn, led to the assumption that Ptah's temple was located south of the city walls of Memphis. However, the epithet "south-of-his-wall" was linked with Ptah "irrespective of where he was worshipped"[3]. Moreover, it is hard to see why an abbreviation leaving out only a single narrow sign should have been so widely employed as to be almost ubiquitous[4]. If they intended to refer to the w h i t e walls, why almost always leave the word white out, when it takes up hardly any space at all?

I suggest a broader meaning for this designation. The epithet "south-of-his-wall" alludes to Ptah's role as patron of craftsmen, who worked in production areas to the south of temple precincts and settlements.

This does not negate the relationship between the epithet 'south-of-his-wall' and the white walls of Memphis, which was directly expressed in the rare epithet "south-of-his-white-wall" (*rsy inb-ḥḏ.f*)[5]. To the contrary, the same considerations which dictated that industrial installations should be placed to the south or local south of temple precincts – that smoke and other distasteful smells should be blown away by Egypt's prevailing northern wind – would also apply to settlements as a whole. The white walls of Memphis were among the walls which artisans worked south of, protected by their patron deity, Ptah. Thus, these two understandings of the epithet are complementary.

* University of Sydney, Department of Studies in Religion.

1 *Wb* II 452,16; Ch. Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen 4*, *OLA* 113, Leuven 2002, pp. 722–723 (the lexicon is hereafter cited as *LGG*), one hundred fifty-seven examples are listed, of which eighty-two were epithets belonging to Ptah, including all Old Kingdom examples. Originally the epithet seems to have applied only to Ptah. Over time it expanded to include closely related forms, Ptah-Sokar (Middle Kingdom), Ptah-Sokar (Kushite Period) and Tatenen (Saite Period), none of which ever became common. The Ptolemaic temple of Khnum at Esna made broader use of this epithet, applying it to Khnum-Re, Khnum-Shu, and Shu.

2 K. Sethe, *Menes und die Gründung von Memphis*, in: K. Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, *UGAÄ* 3, Leipzig 1905, pp. 121–141, esp. 130–131. This view appears in most standard works, including *Wb* I 95,6–7; H. te Velde, *Ptah*, in: *LÄ* 4, Wiesbaden 1984, col. 1179; R. El-Sayed, *La Déesse Neith de Saïs*, *BdE* 84, Le Caire 1982, p. 40, and M. Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, Lund 1946, pp. 206–208. For some more recent works, see H. Papazian, *The Temple of Ptah and Economic Contacts*, in: M. Dolińska/H. Beinlich (eds.), *8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples*, *KSG* 3,3, Wiesbaden 2010, pp. 144–145; T. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt: The Palermo Stone and its Associated Fragments*, London/New York 2000, p. 180; and J. Malek, *The Temples at Memphis. Problems Highlighted by the EES Survey*, in: St. Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, London 1997, p. 91.

3 T. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 180, note that Wilkinson does go on to accept the standard line, saying "However, in origin, it probably described the location of Ptah's main cult centre, a temple at Memphis south of the city's 'white wall(s)' (*inb(w)-ḥḏ*)."

4 The extended epiteth is rare, see below, note 5. This stands in contrast to over one hundred-fifty examples of "south-of-his-wall" listed by *LGG* 4, see above, note 1.

5 A reference to this epithet dating to the Old Kingdom occurs in H. Papazian, *op. cit.*, p. 145, note 34, who cites a sealing that reads "[*Ptḥ*]-*rsy-inb-ḥḏ* 'Ptah-South-of-the-White-Wall'" published in M. Verner et al., *Abusir* IX. *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef*, Prague 2006, p. 221, sealing 50. From the New Kingdom, see P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I, BM 9999*, Cairo 1994, translation vol. 1, p. 290; hieratic texts vol. 2, pl. 50 line 4, discussing this writing of the title "pour *'inb(w)-ḥḏ*, nom de Memphis (q.v., Index III/1) dans *rsy-inb.f*, désigntion de Ptah(?)", vol. 2, p. 161 note 649. Neither example is listed in Leitz, nor is this writing included as a common variant there, *LGG* 4, pp. 722–723; or in *Wb* II 452,16.

Patterns in the location of production areas

The positioning of production areas to the south of temple precincts was general practice in ancient Egypt:

> "The location of production areas to the south (or 'local south') of temples was a common practice necessitated by Egypt's prevailing north wind. Smoke emitted by ovens, kilns and other industrial installations would be carried away from the temple rather than into it."[6]

At Abydos, the practice clearly went back to the Old Kingdom, when a town site with faience production was located to the local south of the temple (i. e. as oriented towards the Nile), that is essentially east, or southeast of the temple[7].

There are indications that this pattern may have applied to Memphis from the earliest times as well. KÖHLER's study of patterns in titles in Early Dynastic tombs in the Memphite area strongly indicate that lower level elites, including craftsmen, were buried to the southeast of the city at Helwan, whereas the highest ranking officials were buried to the northwest, at North Saqqara[8]. The trend of locating production areas to the south or local south of the institutions that they served is more firmly attested in the Old Kingdom. All three industrial areas at Giza, the south field, associated with seals of Khufu and Khafre; the industrial complex southeast of the Menkaure Pyramid; and the area southeast of the great sphinx, were located to the south/southeast of the institutions which they served[9].

A further indication of this pattern for the city itself during the Old Kingdom is the parallelism between Ptah, south-of-his-wall and goddesses bearing the epithet north-of-the-wall. Although Hathor does appear with the epithet north-of-the-wall at least once, Neith clearly predominates[10]. If the Egyptians merely wanted to establish a cultic establishment parallel to Ptah's, the selection of Neith, whose main cult center was in the delta town of Sais, makes little sense. Ptah's consort, Sekhmet or her more benign alter-ego, Hathor would be more appropriate parallels. However, if the Egyptians were looking to parallel Ptah as patron of male artisans with a patron of female artisans, Neith, the mythical inventor of weaving, would be a natural choice[11]. The suggestion that Neith north-of-the-wall may have been the patron of feminine productive activity north of the wall, paralleling male productive activity south of the wall is supported by the fact that this designation disappeared at the end of the Old Kingdom and, unlike its masculine counterpart, did not reappear in the Middle Kingdom, despite the fact that Neith continued to have at cult at Memphis[12]. In the Middle Kingdom the royal residence moved, first to Thebes and then to the more immediate south of Memphis, at *Itjtawy*. Thus, once the royal women who wove the finest linen were no longer resident at Memphis, proper, the parallelism between productive foundations broke down and the designation which celebrated that aspect of Neith's cult was abandoned.

Production areas to the south of Ptah's enclosure wall at Memphis

The location of production areas to the south of Ptah's temple at Memphis only becomes observable in the New Kingdom[13]. However, one must not con-

[6] J. WEGNER ET AL., *The Organization of the Temple NFR-K3 of Senwosret III at Abydos*, in: *Ä&L* 10, 2000, p. 117, and pp. 117–119, notes 76 and 77. See also J. WEGNER, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, *Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale-Institute of Fine Arts Expedition to Egypt* 8, New Haven/Philadelphia 2007, p. 290.

[7] M. ADAMS, *Abydos North*, in: K. BARD/S. SHUBERT (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London 1999, p. 99, map on p. 98; and M. D. ADAMS, *The Abydos Settlement Site Project. Investigation of a Major Provincial Town in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period*, in: C. EYRE (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, *OLA* 82, Leuven 1998, pp. 19–30, esp. 28.

[8] E. C. KÖHLER, *On the Origins of Memphis – New Excavations in the Early Dynastic Necropolis at Helwan*, in: S. HENDRICKX ET AL. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Krakow, 28th August – 1st September 2002*, *OLA* 138, Leuven 2004, p. 311.

[9] Z. HAWASS, *Giza, Workmen's Community*, in: K. BARD/S. SHUBERT (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London 1999, pp. 353–354.

[10] *LGG* 3, p. 382, lists thirteen examples, twelve of which belong to Neith. The thirteenth belongs to Hathor. Seventeen documents in which Neith bears this epithet are listed in R. EL-SAYED, *La Déesse Neith de Saïs*, *BdE* 84, Le Caire 1982, p. 39, sixteen from the Old Kingdom (twelve from the Fifth Dynasty). The seventeenth (Doc. 691) dates to the Saite Period, and is doubtless an example of archaizing.

[11] R. EL-SAYED, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–80.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[13] The 'New' Ptah Temple was within the Ramesside-Hellenistic enclosure wall, which is still a major feature of the site. The 'Old' Ptah Temple is believed to have been further to the west, at Kom

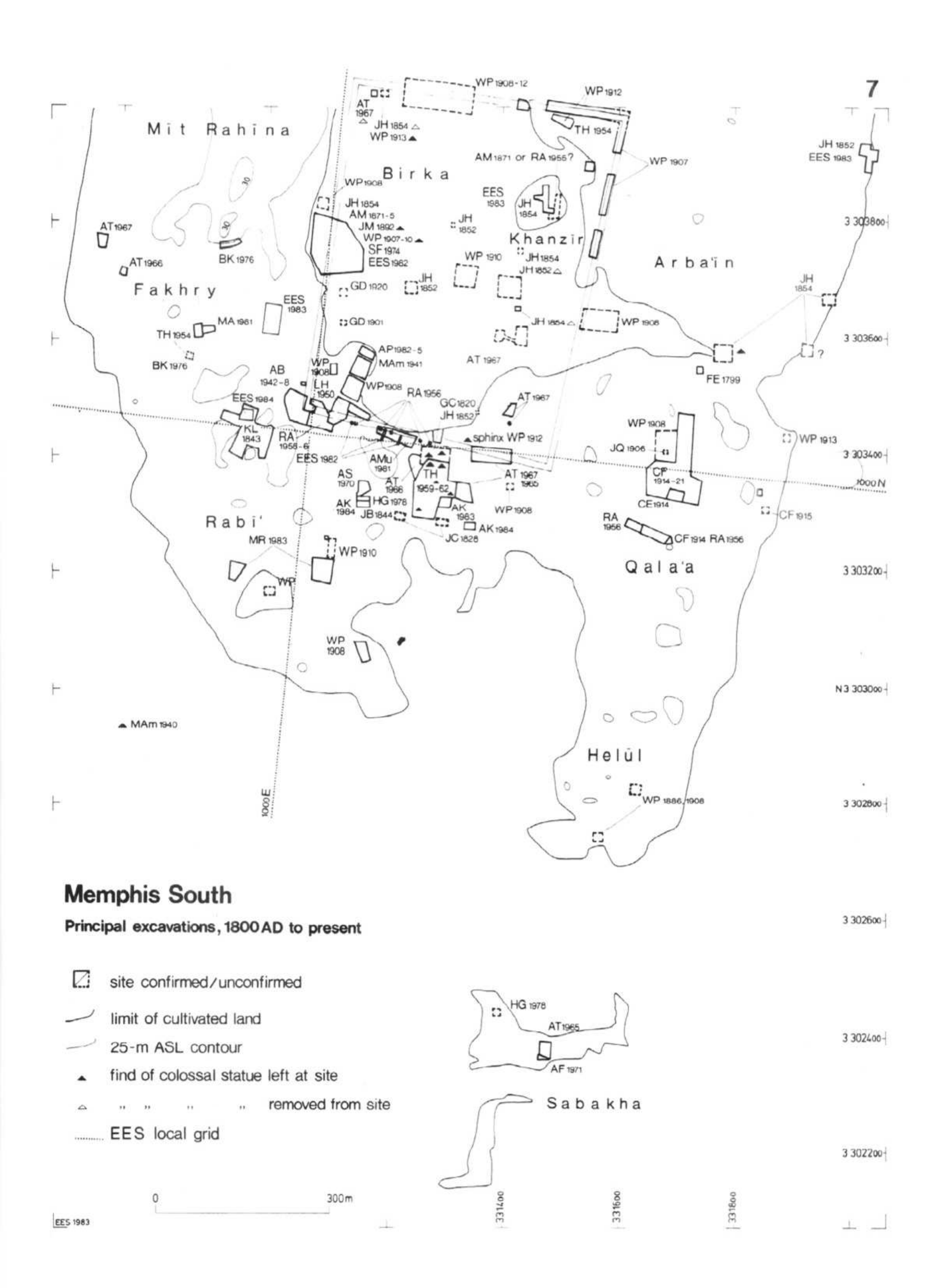


Fig. 1 Memphis South: Principal excavations, 1800 AD to present (D. JEFFREYS, *The Survey of Memphis* I. *The Archaeological Report*, *Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications* 3, London 1985, Fig. 7, courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and Dr. D. JEFFREYS)

sider this to have been like a modern industrial area. To the contrary, it was decidedly mixed use, comprising a jumble of chapels, often open for public devotion and settlements along with evidence of production activities. Most sites combined multiple functions. At least seven possible production areas can be identified in the vicinity of Ptah's complexes at Kom el-Fakhry and Mit Rahina (Fig. 1). These date from the start of the Eighteenth Dynasty, or earlier, down through the Roman era, in roughly chronological order based on the earliest evidence of production activities: a probable bakery at Kom el-Fakhry (1.); Kom Rabia (2.); the Memphite Aten Temple (3.); the Small Temple of Ramesses II (4.); Merenptah's Palace (5.); the Hathor Temple (6.); and Kom Helul (7.).

1. Kom el-Fakhry, [MA 1981 on Fig. 1]

A preliminary report on an excavation conducted by the Cairo University in the 1980's at Kom el-Fakhry indicates that there may have been a bakery here until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty[14]. If, as many believe, the skewed orientation of the western pylon of Ramesses II was to match the orientation of an earlier temple to the west, this area would be to the south of the Old Ptah Temple, proper[15]. The site features granaries, ovens and objects associated with bread production, along with a "rarity of personal possessions or ornaments", indicative of a service function. Nonetheless, the possibility that this area served a domestic function rather than or in addition to a service function cannot be discarded, since "the pottery is of the domestic kind"[16]. The possible mixed nature of this site is consistent with other production areas near the Ptah temple, which tend to combine industrial with settlement and/or cultic uses.

2. Kom Rabia [EES 1984 on Fig. 1]

There was an "artisans' quarter" at Kom Rabia during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, southwest of Ptah's Ramesside-Hellenistic enclosure wall (EES 1984, in the area labeled Rabi' on the map, often called RAT in the literature). This was not a major industrial installation. JEFFREYS characterizes it as a locus of household craft production, including "flint tool manufacture and sale, stela production, carpentry", with a street of larger houses whose residents, probably priests of Ptah, appear to have exerted control over the food supply[17]. This site lies to the south of Kom el-Fakhry, the probable location of the Old Ptah Temple. The settlement was established over a Middle Kingdom settlement, after a hiatus during the Second Intermediate Period. However, the settlement's status as an artisan's community has not been definitively established that far back[18].

3. The Memphite Aten Temple [location reconstructed in the vicinity of Qala'a, Fig. 1]

The Memphite Aten Temple has not been located archaeologically. However, LÖHR identified Kom el-Qala'a, to the southwest of both the Old and New Ptah Temples, as its most likely location[19]. JEFFREYS and MALEK have both supported her theory[20]. After the Amarna Period, the Memphite Aten temple was used as a locus for the production of gold foil, perhaps being recycled from the walls of that temple itself. This suggestion is based on the title of a post-Amarna period official, Ptahmay, "overseer of makers of gold foil in the temple of the Aten" (*Ptḥ-my, ḥry iryw nbw p3ḳ n pr itn*)[21]. The Aten temple building continued to be used in some capacity into the reign of Seti I, when there is a brief reference to wood being

el-Fakhry, see D. JEFFERYS/H. SMITH, *Memphis and the Nile in the New Kingdom: A Preliminary Attempt at a Historical Perspective*, in: A. ZIVIE (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire. Nouvelles donnée, nouvelles questions, Actes du colloque international CNRS, Paris, 9 au 11 octobre 1986*, Paris 1988, pp. 55–57; D. JEFFREYS, *The Survey of Memphis* I. *The Archaeological Report, Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications* 3, London 1985, p. 51; and D. JEFFREYS/J. MALEK/H. SMITH, *Memphis 1985*, in: *JEA* 73, 1987, p. 12; and D. JEFFREYS/J. MALEK, *Memphis 1986, 1987*, in: *JEA* 74, 1988, p. 29, Fig. 7.

[14] G. GABALLA, *Latest Excavations in Memphis: Progress Report*, in: E. BLEIBERG/R. E. FREED (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great, Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology* 1, Memphis, TN 1991, pp. 25–27. I list this site first because there is an implication that work here preceded the New Kingdom, although it is not explicitly stated.

[15] D. JEFFREYS ET AL., *Survey of Memphis* V. *Kom Rabia: The New Kingdom Settlement (Levels II–V)*, London 2006, p. 1; D. JEFFREYS/J. MALEK, in: *JEA* 74, 1988, p. 29.

[16] G. GABALLA, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[17] D. JEFFREYS ET AL., *op. cit.*, p. 67. Preliminary results in D. JEFFERYS/J. MALEK/H. SMITH, *Memphis 1984*, in: *JEA* 72, 1986, pp. 1–14.

[18] For Middle Kingdom levels, see L. GIDDY/D. JEFFREYS, *Memphis 1990*, in: *JEA* 77, 1991, pp. 1–4.

[19] B. LÖHR, *Axanjati in Memphis*, in: *SAK* 2, 1975, pp. 161–163.

[20] With additional supporting evidence, see J. MALEK, *The Temples at Memphis. Problems Highlighted by the EES Survey*, in: ST. QUIRKE (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, London 1997, pp. 95–99. See also D. JEFFREYS, *An Amarna Period Relief from Memphis*, in: K. SOWADA/B. OCKINGA (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney*, Sydney 2006, p. 129, note 8.

[21] J. MALEK, *op. cit.*, p. 96. For a full summary of the data on blocks from this tomb, see B. LÖHR, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–186, who concluded "Die Nennung von Osiris und anderen Göttern beweist, daß das Grab erst unter Tutanch-amun, Eje oder Haremhab fertiggestellt wurde."

delivered to the Aten temple (*t3 ḥwt p3 itn*) and other Memphite buildings[22]. This wood could have been used in the process of making gold foil, or to facilitate further demolition work.

4. The Small Temple of Ramesses II [RA 1955-56 on Fig. 1][23]

A small temple of Ramesses II, south of the southwest corner of the New Ptah Temple enclosure wall, served as both a place of private devotion and, eventually, a locus of craft production[24]. The epithet "south-of-his-wall" is not overrepresented in this small temple. To the contrary, "Lord of Maat" is the most frequently encountered epithet of Ptah[25]. This underscores the point that "south-of-his-wall" was not a reference to a specific locus of worship. Rather, just as Ptah, Lord of Maat refers to Ptah's role as a judge and not to any specific cultic installation in an area devoted to Maat; Ptah, south-of-his-wall refers to Ptah's role as patron of the craftsmen who work south of enclosure walls in general, not to a specific cult located in an area south of any particular wall.

Evidence for craft production in this area consists of hundreds of small chips of agate and other red chalcedony; waste flint, recovered from the sanctuary; and the remains of ovens, which were associated with limited evidence that might suggest the production of glazed ware and faience. This was all found beneath the layer of limestone chips believed to be associated with the destruction of the sanctuary[26], probably sometime during the 22–26 Dynasties[27]. Thus, JAQUET suggested that craft production activities commenced in the area while the sanctuary was still honored[28]. Objects expressing private devotion were deposited in the sanctuary, often by people with titles indicating that they were craftsmen. "The supervisor for the manufacturing of turquoise (imitations), Pakeb (?)"[29] may have worked at this very site. However, a goldsmith whose name is lost[30], and Amenemhet, a scribe employed at the dockyard, are donors who indicate that the chapel had broader appeal to workers in the general area.

The pattern of moving production or settlement activities into the court of a temple, even as the sanctuary was still respected goes back far in Egyptian history, to Old Kingdom royal memorial temples[31]. The objects made in the temple may have been considered more valuable for their association with a sacred site. The ancient Egyptians did consider the creation of images to be a sacred act. However, there is some indication of official resistance to the reuse of this chapel for non-cultic purposes. A wall was built, perhaps in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to prevent people from moving in[32].

5. Merenptah's Palace [WBP 1908; JQ 1906; CF 1914-21; CE 1914 on Fig. 1]

Merenptah's palace, also called his 'temple' in some sources, is located on the northern side of Kom el-Qala'a, to the east of the south side of Ptah's eastern enclosure wall (i. e. north of the suggested site of the Aten Temple). Like so many monuments, this structure was eventually 'villagized', houses being built within it[33]. However, the court clearly also served as a production area, with waste beads, unfinished objects, thousands of moulds for amulets and other detritus of Egyptian faience production revealed in excavations by PETRIE[34] and, later CLARENCE FISHER[35]. It has been noted that some of these moulds are similar to ones found at Amarna[36], although the ones from Merenptah's palace must be significantly later in date. PETRIE noted that there were some objects devoted to Hathor, which might support Herodotus' contention that there was a shrine to Hathor (associated with Aphrodite) here in later times[37].

[22] pRollin 1882 = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 213; fragment a, *recto* 4, W. SPIEGELBERG, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (circa 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches*, Strassburg 1896, pp. 29, 73–74, Taf. xvia. See B. LÖHR, *op. cit.*, pp. 146–147, and J. MALEK, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[23] For detailed plans of this area, see D. JEFFREYS, *The Survey of Memphis* I. *The Archaeological Report, Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications* 3, London 1985, pp. 72–73 and Figs. 30–36.

[24] Area A, J. JAQUET, in: R. ANTHES ET AL., *Mit Rahineh 1955*, Philadelphia 1959, pp. 8–12 [8–14], and ANTHES' summary, pp. 69–71.

[25] R. ANTHES ET AL., *Mit Rahineh 1956*, Philadelphia 1965, p. 5.

[26] J. JAQUET, in: R. ANTHES ET AL., *Mit Rahineh 1955*, Philadelphia 1959, p. 9.

[27] R. ANTHES ET AL., *Mit Rahineh 1955*, Philadelphia 1959, p. 71.

[28] J. JAQUET, in: R. ANTHES ET AL., *Mit Rahineh 1955*, Philadelphia 1959, pp. 11–12.

[29] R. ANTHES ET AL., *Mit Rahineh 1956*, Philadelphia 1965, pp. 75–77, Pl. 26a–b.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77, Pl. 26c–d.

[31] Like the valley temple of Menkaure, which KEMP noted "...was not an unusual case", B. J. KEMP, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization*, London/New York 2006, pp. 207–211, Figs. 74–75.

[32] R. ANTHES ET AL., *Mit Rahineh 1955*, Philadelphia 1959, p. 69.

[33] W. M. F. PETRIE, *Memphis* I, *ERA* 14, London 1909, pp. 11–12. For other examples, see B. J. KEMP, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–211, Figs. 74–75 (Menkaure) and 351–355, Fig. 122 (Medient Habu).

[34] W. M. F. PETRIE, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.

[35] R. ANTHES ET AL., *op. cit.*, p. 48, cats. 225–239, Pl. 32 c, f and g; R. ANTHES ET AL., *Mit Rahineh 1956*, Philadelphia 1965, pp. 129–131, cats. 258–294; Pls. 50–51.

[36] R. ANTHES ET AL., *Mit Rahineh 1955*, Philadelphia 1959, p. 48.

[37] W. M. F. PETRIE, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

6. Hathor Temple [AS 1970 on Fig. 1]
Ramesses II built a temple to the goddess Hathor south of Ptah's enclosure[38]. This small temple became a locus of craft production by the Ptolemaic Period, with kilns located in the south-east corner of the court[39], "perhaps a glazing area or even a pottery"[40]. Most of the finds are Greco-Roman in date. This area appears to have become a settlement site in the Roman Period, with New Kingdom finds in upper levels to be considered intrusive[41]. It is not known how long the sanctuary continued to be respected. However, this area raises many of the same issues as the reuse of the Small Temple of Ramesses II did.

7. Kom Helul [labeled Helul in Fig. 1]
In the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, large scale faience production was undertaken to the southeast of Ptah's enclosure, at Kom Helul[42].

Thus, production activities were clearly located to the south of Ptah's temple complexes at Memphis, at least from the New Kingdom onward. These production areas tend to be mixed with settlements (Kom el-Fakhry, resistivity feature; Kom Rabia; Merenptah's Palace, and the Hathor Temple), and sometimes take advantage of older monuments which had fallen out of favor (the Memphite Aten Temple; the Small Temple of Ramesses II; and Merenptah's Palace). The people who moved into the old temples sometimes seem to have respected the sanctuaries. The Small Temple of Ramesses II, in particular, continued to serve as a locus of private devotion. The sacred associations of such sites may have added value to the products produced in their workshops. None of these areas were devoted specifically to Ptah, south-of-his-wall. This is consistent with the view that this epithet is not indicative of a particular locus of worship. Rather, south-of-his-wall identified Ptah as the patron of the craftsmen who worked and lived south of the walls of temples, and perhaps settlements, so that the smoke and smells of their work would blow southward, away from the homes of deities and more elite Egyptians. This reading also explains why Neith, north-of-the-wall was selected to balance Ptah, rather than his consort, Sekhmet or her more benign alter-ego, Hathor. As the mythical inventor of weaving, Neith was a patroness of feminine productive activity who could parallel Ptah as patron of craftsmen.

Abstract

The god Ptah often appears with the epithet "south-of-his-wall" (*rsy inb.f*,). The "wall" is generally believed to refer to the famous white walls of the city of Memphis, Ptah's main cult center. This article suggests that the epithet has a broader meaning, referring to Ptah's role as patron of craftsmen, who generally worked to the south of temple enclosure walls throughout Egypt, so that prevailing northern winds would blow pollution produced by their activities away from temples. There is considerable archaeological and textual evidence for craft activity in the areas to the south of Ptah's precinct at Memphis from the New Kingdom onward. Of particular interest is the possible use of the Aten temple as a center for the production of gold foil, perhaps as a stage in the demolition of that monument.

[38] D. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis* I. *The Archaeological Report*, *Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications* 3, London 1985, pp. 25–26, 74 and Figs. 38–39; A. el-Sayed Mahmud, *A New Temple for Hathor at Memphis*, *Egyptology Today* 1, Warminster 1978, p. 4.

[39] A. el-Sayed Mahmud, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[40] D. Jeffreys, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[41] A. el-Sayed Mahmud, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[42] The area was explored by Paul Nicholson in 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2005, see P. Nicholson, *Kom Helul*, in: *Fieldwork, 2000–2001*, in: *JEA* 87, 2001, pp. 12–13; Id., *Kom Helul*, in: *Fieldwork, 2001–2002*, in: *JEA* 88, 2002, pp. 8–10; and Id., *Work at Kom Helul*, in: *Fieldwork, 2000–2001*, in: *JEA* 92, 2006, pp. 13–16.

Is the 'Bankes Tomb' Really Lost?

By STEFANIE HARDEKOPF

'The Bankes Tomb'[1]

'The Bankes Tomb', also known as TT E 3, is one of the tombs LISE MANNICHE reconstructed from travel reports and wall fragments in museums and private collections, and whose actual location remains unknown.

MANNICHE named the tomb after WILLIAM JOHN BANKES (1786–1855), who detached some fragments from a Theban tomb in 1819 and sent them to his home at Kingston Lacy, where they are still housed, today in the possession of the National Trust. She allocated the four fragments of painted wall decoration in Kingston Lacy to four descriptions of different visits of a tomb in Thebes between August 1817 and June 1819[2].

The four fragments in Kingston Lacy depict:

1. A man before offerings followed by a group of musicians, all turned to the left and between two other registers (National Trust inv. no. 1257257[3]), H: 54 cm, W: 137 cm (Fig. 1),
2. A man offering on braziers turned to the right (National Trust inv. no. 1257259[4]), H: 53.5 cm, W: 68 cm (Fig. 2),
3. One single harpist turned to the right in an upper register directly below a frieze and a multi-coloured band, and at the left end of a scene (National Trust inv. no. 1257258[5]), H: 56.5 cm, W: 37 cm (Fig. 3), and
4. One harpist accompanied by a lutenist, turned to the left, directly below a frieze and a multi-coloured band at the right end of a scene (National Trust inv. no. 1257262[6]), H: 43 cm, W: 50 cm (Fig. 4).

The four reports were published between 1820 and 1830 by GIOVANNI FINATI, GIOVANNI BELZONI, JOSEPH STRATON, and CHARLES LEONARD IRBY and JAMES MANGLES.

The report by FINATI is the only one that refers directly to the fragments in Kingston Lacy. FINATI was BANKES' interpreter on his travels, and in his biography, which was edited by BANKES, FINATI mentions BANKES' stay in Thebes from 11th to 24th June 1819[7]

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[1] This article is based on a paper with the same title held on 22. 03. 2013 at Current Research in Egyptology XIV in Cambridge. I especially would like to thank NIGEL STRUDWICK, EVA HOFMANN and HEIKE HEYE for their permission to use their photographs of Theban tombs, DANIELE SALVOLDI, PATRICIA USICK and the staff of the Dorset History Centre for their help with information on the location and content of the Bankes Archive, and ROBERT GRAY for information on the four fragments in the Bankes collection and the permission to use the photographs of the National Trust in this paper. Additionally I would like to thank URSULA GAWLICK and NIGEL STRUDWICK for their help with the English language.

[2] F. KAMPP, *Die Thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie, Theben* 13, Mainz 1996, p. 621 (hereafter F. KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*); L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs. A Study of Certain Eighteenth Dynasty Monuments in the Theban Necropolis*, London/New York 1988, pp. 158–169 (hereafter L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*).

[3] PM I², p. 820; N. M. DAVIES, *Egyptian Tomb Paintings from Originals mainly of the Eighteenth Dynasty in the British Museum and the Bankes Collection*, London 1958, Pl. 5 (hereafter N. M. DAVIES, *Tomb Paintings*); L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, pp. 166–167, Pl. 54, Fig. 81; [J.] STRATON, *Account of the Sepulchral Caverns of Egypt*, in: *The Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* 3, Edinburgh 1820, p. 347, Pl. X (hereafter [J.] STRATON, *Sepulchral Caverns*); Dorset History Centre D/BKL/F/ED/II/A/7; www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk (29. 10. 2012) (hereafter National Trust online catalogue).

[4] PM I², p. 820, N. M. DAVIES, *Tomb Paintings*, Pl. 2; L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 165, Pl. 52, Fig. 78; National Trust online catalogue (29. 10. 2012).

[5] PM I², p. 820; *The Art of Ancient Egypt. A Series of Photographic Plates Representing Objects from the Exhibition of the Art of Ancient Egypt, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club*, London 1895, p. 33, Pl. VIII; N. M. DAVIES, *Tomb Paintings*, Pl. 6; L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 165, Pl. 53, Fig. 79; National Trust online catalogue (29. 10. 2012).

[6] L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, pp. 167–168, Pl. 53, Fig. 80; National Trust online catalogue (29. 10. 2012).

[7] P. USICK, *Adventures in Egypt and Nubia. The Travels of William John Bankes (1786–1855)*, London 2002, pp. 146–147.



Fig. 1 Man before offerings, followed by musicians; Bankes Collection, Kingston Lacy, National Trust inv. no. 1257257 (Photo National Trust)



Fig. 2 Man offering on braziers; Bankes Collection, Kingston Lacy, National Trust inv. no. 1257259 (Photo National Trust)

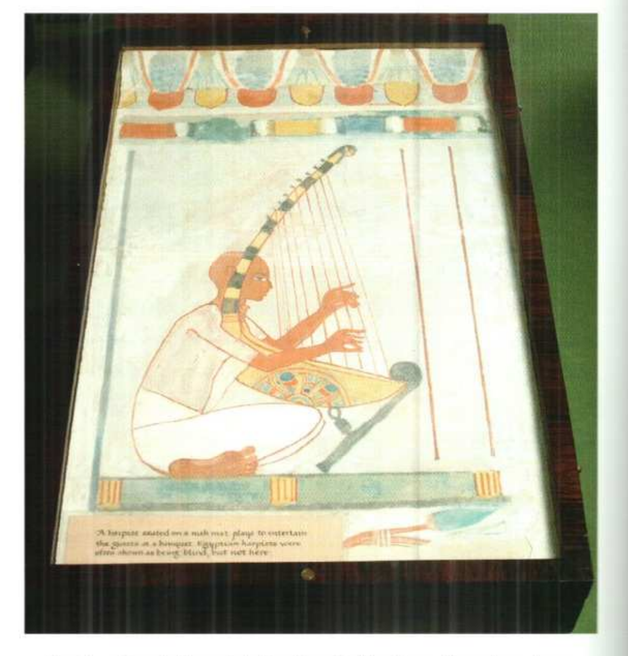


Fig. 3 Single harpist; Bankes Collection, Kingston Lacy, National Trust inv. no. 1257258 (Photo National Trust)

and that BANKES sent some fragments of tomb decoration home, including a fragment with musicians[8]:

> "At Thebes he [W. J. BANKES] was successful in detaching the stucco from one of the most interesting and best preserved of the lesser[9] tombs, so as to be enabled to send several groups to England, and especially a large one of musicians, with harps and other instruments, as fresh as when first painted."

with the addition:

> "This group is mentioned by Belzoni and is additionally remarkable for having been painted in the reign of one of the earliest sovereigns of that dynasty, whose succession is given on the tablet of Abydos – his name and effigy being represented several times in the paintings of this tomb."

The "tablet of Abydos" is the king-list of the temple of Ramesses II. The preserved part lists the throne names of some kings of the 6th, 7th and 12th Dynasty, the kings of the 18th Dynasty omitting Hatshepsut and the Amarna kings until Tutankhamun, and the kings of the 19th Dynasty until Ramesses II. BANKES

[8] G. FINATI, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati* 2, London 1830, pp. 342–343 (hereafter G. FINATI, *Narrative*).

[9] L. MANNICHE quotes here "better" instead of "lesser"; L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 158.



Fig. 4
Harpist accompanied by a lutenist; Bankes Collection, Kingston Lacy, National Trust inv. no. 1257262 (Photo National Trust)

made a copy of the list on his way north, which was later published by HENRY SALT[10].

BANKES himself states in a letter, quoted in a publication in 1822, on the fashion of the time to remove parts of the decoration of monuments[11]:

> "I have always deprecated, in the strongest manner, such spoliations of existing and entire monuments, ..., (the only instance in which I ever deviated at all from this principle having been in cutting the paintings from a mutilated private tomb at Thebes, which I saw no chance or hope of preserving;) ..."

FINATI refers to BELZONI's *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia* for another mention of the musicians. BELZONI describes in his book that on 13th October 1817 he showed three "English gentlemen" whose names he never mentions a tomb in Qurna he had discovered half a year ago and in which some musicians are depicted[12]:

> "The same day [13th October 1817] we visited another mummy-pit, which I had opened six months before. The construction is somewhat similar to what I have just described, a portico and a subterraneous cavity where the mummies are. Here the paintings are beautiful, not only for their preservation, but for the novelty of their figures. There are two harps, one with nine strings, and the other with fourteen, and several other strange representations: in particular, six dancing girls, with fifes, tambourins [sic], pipes of reeds, guitars, &c."

BELZONI's description of the similar tomb says[13]:

> "This was a small one, and consisted of two rooms painted all over, but not in the best style."

The report with the most elaborate description of the tomb was published by Colonel STRATON[14]:

> "In the cavern where the dancing girls are painted on the walls, the first figure, on entering, is a male

[10] G. FINATI, *Narrative*, p. 343; H. SALT, *Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics*, London 1825, frontispiece. The fragments are now in the British Museum, EA 117; T. G. H. JAMES, *The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. 9*, London 1970, pp. 13–14, Pl. VIII; N. STRUDWICK, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt*, London 2006, pp. 204–205, 345.

[11] *Art. III – 1. Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes et dans les Déserts situés à l'Orient et à l'Occident de la Thébaide, faits pendant les Années 1815, 1816, 1817 et 1818, 2. ...*, in: *Quarterly Review* 28 (55: October 1822), London 1823, p. 76 note.

[12] G. BELZONI, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia*, London 1820, p. 230 (hereafter G. BELZONI, *Narrative*).

[13] G. BELZONI, *Narrative*, p. 230.

[14] [J.] STRATON, *Sepulchral Caverns*, p. 347, Pl. X.



Fig. 5
STRATON's sketch of the musicians ([J.] STRATON, *Sepulchral Caverns*, Pl. X)

harper sitting, as is still the practice in these countries, with his legs across: his head is shaved; and the harp has nine strings. Then follows the group of dancing girls, represented in Plate X. The upper part of the dress is red, and resembles hair; the lower part is white and transparent, without any folds. On a pannel [sic] above, in the same room, there is a row of five females seated, some on camp stools, others on chairs with four legs. Each of these females holds a lotus flower in the right hand, turned towards the nose, and the left hand rests on the knee. In the pannel [sic] under the dancers, is another row of seated females; the hair is matted, thickened, and made wig-like, with grease or oil, ... On the adjoining wall is a seated female, having on her knee a young boy, his face turned towards her, holding the crook in his right hand, and the sacred Tor in his left, with a figure of the Scarabaeus suspended from his neck, ... From the attributes, it is probably meant to represent Isis and Orus.
On another wall are two harpers cross legged. One of the harps has seven, and the other fourteen strings.
... A mummy-pit adjoins the chambers, containing several mummies ..."

STRATON's sketch (Fig. 5) shows the dancing girls in the same general combination and posture as on the fragment in Kingston Lacy, except that two girls are depicted in reversed order.

MANNICHE suggested that the "sacred Tor" might be an *ankh* sign[15]. This is confirmed by another publication by STRATON in which he equals the "sacred Tor" with the "crux ansata"[16]. The *heqa* sceptre and *ankh* sign identify the boy also as a king, as there is no depiction of a king's son with a *heqa* sceptre from the 18th Dynasty.

MANNICHE also identified STRATON[17] as one of the three visitors BELZONI mentioned and which FINATI named as "Colonel Stratton [sic], Captain Bennet, and Mr. Fuller", who visited Thebes in the same season BELZONI discovered the tomb of Seti I (KV 17)[18], which was on 16th October 1817[19]. This identification is also confirmed by a graffito in the tomb of Ramesses I (KV 16)[20]: according to BELZONI, the tomb was discovered on 10th October 1817 and first entered on the following day by BELZONI, his English visitors and SALT's secretary HENRY WILLIAM BEECHEY[21]. Their record of this event in the tomb is mentioned by GUSTAVE FLAUBERT in his description of his visit of the tomb[22]:

> "16. Entrée difficile – une seule chambre avec un sarcophage en granit, vide – une inscription au crayon déclare que Belzoni, Stralton [sic] Beechy [sic] et Bennett ont été présents à son ouverture le 11 octobre 1817."

The fourth report was written by two officers of the royal navy: C. L. IRBY and J. MANGLES. Their publication *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor, during the years 1817 and 1818* consists of several letters. In their first letter, which covers 165 pages, they describe their visits of several tombs in Qurna with BELZONI and BEECHEY on 18th August 1817[23], including a recently discovered tomb with musicians[24]:

15 L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 161 note 14 [sic], 237 note 13.
16 [J.] STRATON, *Account of the Subterranean Temple of Ipsambul*, in: *The Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* 3, Edinburgh 1820, p. 64.
17 L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 159 note 6 [sic], 237 note 7.
18 G. FINATI, *Narrative*, pp. 213, 215.
19 G. BELZONI, *Narrative*, pp. 230–231.
20 *Some Graffiti at Philae*, *Bulletin of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East* 23, Cambridge 2005, pp. 19–20.
21 G. BELZONI, *Narrative*, pp. 228–230.
22 G. FLAUBERT, *Voyage en Egypte*, Paris 1991, pp. 395–396.
23 Not on the 17th August as MANNICHE writes; L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 159.
24 C. L. IRBY/J. MANGLES, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor, during the Years 1817 and 1818*, London 1823, pp. 137–138, 143–146.

"We now went to inspect a newly discovered tomb, that well recompensed us for our trouble. Having crawled in through a small hole barely sufficient for the body to be squeezed in, we entered a small sepulchral anti-chamber adjoining to a tomb filled with mummies. From the finished style of the decorations of this chamber, we concluded that it must have been the tomb of some noble family; the paintings are all in fresco, and so wonderfully well preserved, that not the least scratch or stain is visible; the pure white ground of the wall not being even tinged with yellow. Amongst the groups we noticed an interesting troop of six musicians, all females, uniformly dressed in white robes reaching down to their ankles; over this, they have a sort of black, loose woollen net hanging over the shoulders, and reaching down to the waist. Their hair is jet black, plaited in ringlets, reaching down below from the outer part of the eye-lids all round the head, having at first sight the appearance of a veil. They are all walking in procession and playing at the same time: the leader has a harp with fourteen strings; then comes the guitar, which is not unlike the instrument of that description which we use at this day; then a lute, which is a handsome instrument; after this comes another girl clapping her hands, apparently keeping time; then another playing on a sort of double pipe: this instrument is played on like a clarionet, and is long and thin, both the tubes being of equal length: the procession closes with a female beating on a tambarine [sic], which is in this shape . ... The preservation of this group is astonishing, the colours being perfectly fresh, and no part whatever in the least defaced. ... There are also two male harpers in different parts of this apartment; both are squatted down, and playing on smaller instruments than that first described, having only nine strings each; one is playing alone, the other is accompanied by a guitar. These last-mentioned musicians are bareheaded, and have bare feet: they are apparently elderly men. There are many other groups here, but as they are like what we have before noticed in other sepulchres, we avoid entering into detail. The sacred bull (Apis) is here most magnificently ornamented, and is a handsomer animal than we have hitherto noticed. The cieling [sic] of the apartment is divided into four compartments, each of which is painted with a different device. Adjoining the chamber, by means of a small well at one end, is a tomb filled with mummies, ..."

MANNICHE proposed that their report related to the Bankes Tomb due to the similarities in their description to the musicians and harpists in Kingston Lacy, even if there are minor differences in the details[25].

By means of the records and the fragments, MANNICHE developed a reconstruction of the tomb's architecture and decoration[26], especially of the outer hall, which shows the tomb owner offering and taking part in a banquet, which might be the "Feast of the Valley", in the hall to the left of the entrance, and on the adjoining small wall the woman nursing the king. She also suggested that the decoration on the wall opposite the entrance could have shown the king on both sides of the entrance to the inner part of the tomb, probably in scenes depicting the office of the tomb owner.

Based on the style of the paintings and the subjects depicted, MANNICHE[27] dated the fragments to the middle of the 18th Dynasty. She referred especially to the tambourine played by one of the women, as that tambourine is documented solely in the reigns of Thutmosis III, Amenhotep II and Thutmosis IV. Following FINATI's claim that the king is one of the first ones of his dynasty and that he is in the Abydos king list, MANNICHE suggested for the date of the tomb the reign of Thutmosis III or probably Amenhotep II, and she excluded both Thutmosis IV, as he is not one of the first kings of the 18th Dynasty, and Thutmosis II, because of his rareness in Theban tombs.

As the individual descriptions of the tomb differ from each other and from the fragments, there is the possibility that there are other discrepancies between the tomb and the aforesaid descriptions which may have prevented the correct identification of the tomb up to now.

Re-evaluating the iconographic details

The most significant scene in the tomb shows the king on the lap of his nurse. There are only four scenes of this kind known today from Theban tombs and

[25] L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 160.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 161–169.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 161; EAD., *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments*, MÄS 34, München 1975, p. 5 (hereafter L. MANNICHE, *Musical Instruments*).

dating to the 18th Dynasty[28]: one scene in TT -555- of Amenhotep[29] from the time of Thutmosis III or Amenhotep II, and from the time of Amenhotep II, two scenes in TT 85 of Amenemheb and his wife Baki[30] and one scene in TT 93 of Qenamun[31].

All scenes are opposite the entrance: in TT -555- and TT 93 on the opposite wall and in TT 85 on two pillars. The depiction in TT 93 shows the king sitting on his nurse's lap – the tomb owner's mother – and looking at her. He holds in his right hand a *heqa* sceptre and a rope with foreign captives. His left hand rests on the shoulder of the nurse. He wears the blue crown, an elaborate dress and jewellery. The depiction in TT -555- is nearly completely destroyed. The fragments indicate that the king is sitting on the lap of his nurse and is looking at her and that he wears the blue crown.

Both scenes in TT 85 show a child sitting on the lap of a nurse – Baki – and suckled by her. The identification of the child as the king results from the title "great nurse of the lord of the Two Lands" of the woman in both scenes. The depictions of the child are fragmentary. The boy wears a simple transparent dress and his head is shaved. On the right pillar he holds an *ankh* sign in his right hand and his left hand is lost, and on the left pillar he grasps the arm of this nurse with his left hand and the right hand is lost.

A comparison with the description of 'The Bankes Tomb' shows that none of the tombs with a depiction of the king on the lap of his nurse is small, the nursing scenes are in the wrong part of the tomb, and although each nursing scene portrays the king differently, none matches STRATON's description.

MANNICHE already stated that the tambourine is only documented in the reign of Thutmosis III, Amenhotep II and Thutmosis IV[32]. Further iconographic details in the fragments provide more specific information about the date of the tomb than previously considered: besides the tambourine, we should consider the garments of the men and the musicians, and the friezes.

Transparent and loose garments of men are documented from the time of Amenhotep II onwards[33], and the long dresses of the musicians, which are longer at the back and which reach the heels, are documented from the reign of Amenhotep II onwards and are common in the reign of Thutmosis IV[34]. The only examples of coloured coats known to me all date from the time of Thutmosis IV onwards[35]. Also, the only group of musicians with an identical arrangement known to me dates from his reign, in TT 75[36], although there the group appears in a different order.

Besides the garments, there is another iconographic detail that has not been considered before, namely the friezes in the fragments of the harpists above the multi-coloured band that delineates the scenes. The frieze above the single harpist is made of hanging flowers and grapes alternating above a band of mandrake fruits and red crescent-shaped objects, the latter, according to MANNICHE, poppy petals[37]. The flowers are always above the mandrakes, and the grapes above the red objects. Flowers and grapes are separated by red lines, which follow roughly the outline of the flowers and end at the tips of the red objects.

The frieze above the harpist and the lutenist is largely lost. There are red dots visible in regular intervals, but they are different from the red objects on the frieze above the single harpist, as they are oval-shaped and upright.

In his study of the decoration of the Theban tombs of the officials in the New Kingdom from 1933, MAX WEGNER describes the development of the friezes[38]. In tombs from the early 18th Dynasty, the wall above the multi-coloured band seems to be ei-

[28] The scene in TT 350 described by B. PORTER and R. MOSS as "son (?) offers bouquet (of Amun?) to wife suckling prince (Thutmosis IV)" on the wall next to the entrance refers definitely to a king's son, as can be seen in the notes made by N. DE G. DAVIES; PM I², p. 417 [3.I]; N. DE G. DAVIES, *Manuscripts* 11.2, p. 112 (present location: Griffith Institute, Oxford). It is the only scene of a nurse with a king's son in a Theban tomb known so far.

[29] E. GROTHE, *Das Grab eines Amenophis in Theben*, in: H. GUKSCH/ D. POLZ (eds.), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet*, Mainz 1998, pp. 277–280, Abb. 5.

[30] PM I², p. 173 [Ba I, Ca I]; S. EISERMANN, *Die Gräber des Imenemheb und des Pehsucher – Vorbild und Kopie?*, in: J. ASSMANN ET AL., *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposion Heidelberg 9.–13. 6. 1993*, *SAGA* 12, Heidelberg 1995, Taf. VIIIa; C. H. ROEHRIG, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (mnꜥt nswt), Royal Tutor (mnꜥ nswt), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (sn/snt mnꜥ n nb tꜣwy)*, Ann Arbor 1990, pp. 298–300; photographs H. HEYE.

[31] PM I², p. 192 [16]; N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes*, *PMMA* 5, New York 1973, pp. 19–22, Pls. IX, IX A (hereafter N. DE G. DAVIES, *Ḳen-Amūn*); *LD* III, Bl. 62c.

[32] L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 161; EAD., *Musical Instruments*, p. 5.

[33] A. G. SHEDID, *Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis' II. untersucht an den thebanischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80*, *AV* 66, Mainz 1988, pp. 54–55, table 6.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 53, table 5.

[35] E.g. TT 75; N. DE. G. DAVIES, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (nos. 75 and 90)*, Pls. V, XVIII (hereafter N. DE. G. DAVIES, *Two Officials*).

[36] *Ibid.*, Pls. V, XVIII.

[37] L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 165.

[38] M. WEGNER, *Stilentwickelung der thebanischen Beamtengräber*, in: *MDAIK* 4, 1933, pp. 47–48 (hereafter M. WEGNER, *Stilentwickelung*).

ther without decoration or it shows the *kheker* frieze[39]. WEGNER's earliest example of a frieze with flowers, and his only example from the reign of Amenhotep II, is found in the tomb of Qenamun, and he states that the *kheker* frieze was abandoned in that tomb. However, the flowers in the tomb above the heads of Qenamun's mother and her nursling Amenhotep II are dangling from the ceiling of the kiosk in which they are sitting, and the multi-coloured band is above the kiosk[40]. The only decoration above the multi-coloured bands in the tomb in the publication of NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES are *kheker* friezes[41]. Therefore, Qenamun's tomb is not an example of a frieze with flowers. WEGNER's other examples of friezes with flowers date according to him to the reign of Thutmosis IV or later. Excluding the tombs dating[42] to the reign of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun, as they are too late for this study, the tombs are TT 75[43] (Amenhotep II?/Thutmosis IV), TT 74[44] (Thutmosis IV), TT 38[45] and TT 63[46] (Thutmosis IV/Amenhotep III?), TT 175[47] (Thutmosis IV/Amenhotep III), TT 69[48] (Thutmosis IV?/Amenhotep III), and TT 139[49] and TT 161[50] (Amenhotep III). WEGNER also lists TT 90[51] (Amenhotep III), but in the publication of the tomb the flowers are below the multi-coloured band, and they do not cover the complete scene but are restricted to the space above the tomb owner and his wife. As WEGNER's publication is now 80 years old and much more tomb decoration is now accessible in publications, I conducted a search myself for friezes with flowers in Theban tombs of the 18th dynasty, restricted to tombs with more reliable dating[52]. Unfortunately in many publications, especially older ones, decoration that does not belong to a scene is left out. The friezes with flowers I found were mainly those already mentioned by WEGNER, but there are also some in TT 64[53] (Thutmosis IV), TT 151[54] (Thutmosis IV/Amenhotep III), and TT 8[55], TT 54[56], TT 249[57], TT A 24[58] and TT C 4[59] (Amenhotep III). The earliest safely dated friezes with flowers are in tombs from the reign of Thutmosis IV. In most cases the friezes are separated from the scenes by a multi-coloured band. In the case of TT 74, the separation is made by a line with text, in TT 8 and TT 151 there is only a band above the flowers.

There are two main motifs accompanying the flowers: grapes dangling between the flowers (TT 8, TT 38, TT 64, TT 74, TT 139, TT 151, TT 175, TT C 4), and rosettes (TT 63, TT 64, TT 69, TT 75, TT 161, TT 249, TT A 24). The friezes with flowers are all similar, but it seems that they are never identical from one tomb to another.

All these iconographic details listed here definitely exclude a date for the Bankes Tomb in the reign of Thutmosis III, and make a date in the reign of Amenhotep II very unlikely; instead, they point to the reign of Thutmosis IV[60].

Identification of 'The Bankes Tomb'

As described above, the fragment with the single harpist depicts grapes between flowers. This motif is also found in TT 151 and TT 64. In TT 151, the layout of the flowers and grapes at the top and the fruits and

39 The only exception seems to be the tomb of Senenmut with a frieze of Hathor heads; M. WEGNER, *Stilentwickelung*, p. 47.

40 PM I², p. 192 [16]; N. DE G. DAVIES, *Ḳen-Amūn*, pp. 19–22, Pls. IX, IX A; *LD* III, Bl. 62c.

41 N. DE G. DAVIES, *Ḳen-Amūn*, Pls. XXIII, LVI.

42 The dating is based on F. KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*.

43 N. DE G. DAVIES, *Two Officials*, Pl. XIV.

44 A. BRACK/A. BRACK, *Das Grab des Tjanuni. Theben Nr. 74*, *AV* 19, Mainz 1977, Taf. 7.

45 N. DE G. DAVIES, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs*, *PTT* 4, Oxford 1963, Pl. IV.

46 E. DZIOBEK/M. ABDEL RAZIQ, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep. Theben Nr. 63*, *AV* 71, Mainz 1990, Taf. 10.

47 L. MANNICHE, *The Wall Decoration of Three Theban Tombs (TT 77, 175, and 249)*, *CNI Publications* 4, Copenhagen 1988, p. 43 (hereafter L. MANNICHE, *Wall Decoration*).

48 M. MAHER-TAHA, *Le tombeau de Menna (TT. No 69). Description archéologique*, Caire 2002, pl. XII.

49 K. SAKURAI/S. YOSHIMURA/J. KONDO, *Comparative Studies of Noble Tombs in Theban Necropolis*, Tokyo 1988, Pl. 80 (hereafter K. SAKURAI/S. YOSHIMURA/J. KONDO, *Comparative Studies*).

50 Heidelberg, Ramessidenarchiv, slide 693.

51 N. DE G. DAVIES, *Two Officials*, Pl. XXI.

52 The dating is based on F. KAMPP, *Thebanische Nekropole*.

53 G. JÉQUIER, *Décoration égyptienne. Plafonds et frises végétales du Nouvel Empire thébain (1400 à 1000 avant J.-C.)*, Paris [1911], pls. XXXVIII [57], XXIX [61] (hereafter G. JÉQUIER, *Décoration*); *LD* III, Bl. 69a; A. RADWAN, *Die Darstellung des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, *MÄS* 21, Berlin 1969, p. 91, Taf. XIII; K. SAKURAI/S. YOSHIMURA/J. KONDO, *Comparative Studies*, Pls. 53.1, 54.2.

54 K. SAKURAI/S. YOSHIMURA/J. KONDO, *Comparative Studies*, Pl. 86.1–2.

55 *Ibid.*, Pl. 28.2; photograph E. HOFMANN.

56 *Ibid.*, Pl. 43.1.

57 L. MANNICHE, *Wall Decoration*, p. 49.

58 S. YOSHIMURA, *The Theban Tombs No. 333, A. 21, A. 24 and Tomb W-4 (Nr.-127-). The Report of Waseda University's Excavations on the West Bank of Luxor* 3, Tokyo 2007, Pl. 5.1.

59 L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, Pl. 38.

60 Although the dating seems to be unequivocal, in the case of a solely iconographic approach for the dating without other information available like the identity of the tomb owner, his social status or the exact location of the tomb in the necropolis, new evidence might change this result.



Fig. 6 TT 64: frieze in the northern part of the hall (© NIGEL STRUDWICK, Cambridge Theban Tombs Project)

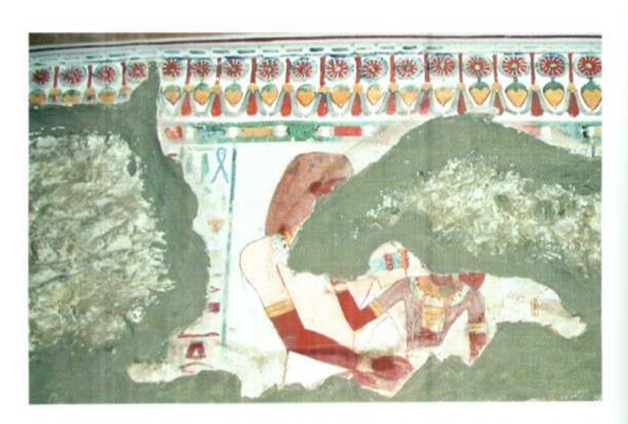


Fig. 7 TT 64: frieze in the southern part of the hall, east wall (© NIGEL STRUDWICK, Cambridge Theban Tombs Project)

crescent-shaped objects below is quite irregular, and the flowers are not above a multi-coloured band. In TT 64 (Fig. 6) the layout of the frieze is identical with that of the frieze in the fragment with the single harpist from the Bankes Tomb. If there really are no identical floral friezes in two tombs of the 18th Dynasty, the Bankes Tomb could in fact be TT 64.

TT 64 is a small tomb, which belongs to Heqareshu and Heqarneheh, whose relation is unknown, but they are supposed to be father and son[61]. The most significant scene for a comparison between TT 64 and the reconstructed Bankes Tomb would be the nursing scene, which is on the right small wall of the hall in the Bankes Tomb. The corresponding scene in TT 64 shows Heqareshu with Thutmosis IV on his lap (Fig. 8)[62]. Thutmosis IV holds in his right hand a *heqa* sceptre and in his left hand an *ankh* sign. Around his neck, he wears a necklace with a pendant, showing a scarab. Except for the fact that Heqareshu is a man and not a woman, the depiction perfectly matches STRATON's description of the scene.

To confirm the identification of TT 64 with the Bankes Tomb, the fragments in Kingston Lacy need to fit in TT 64, both iconographically and physically[63]. As seen above, the iconography of the fragments suggests a date in the reign of Thutmosis IV, and the frieze in the fragment of the single harpist fits the frieze in TT 64 as seen before. The frieze depicted above the harpist and the lutenist does not match the frieze with the grapes in TT 64, but that frieze is restricted to the walls in the northern part of the hall. There is another frieze with rosettes in TT 64 (Fig. 7) in the southern part of the hall, on the southern and eastern walls[64], which is consistent with the remainders of the red colour in the frieze of that fragment.

The decoration of the eastern wall in the northern part of the hall is nearly completely destroyed, giving enough space for the fragments with the musicians on the northern end and the offering man near the entrance. The frieze is mostly destroyed in the northern part of the hall on the eastern wall (Fig. 9), and the

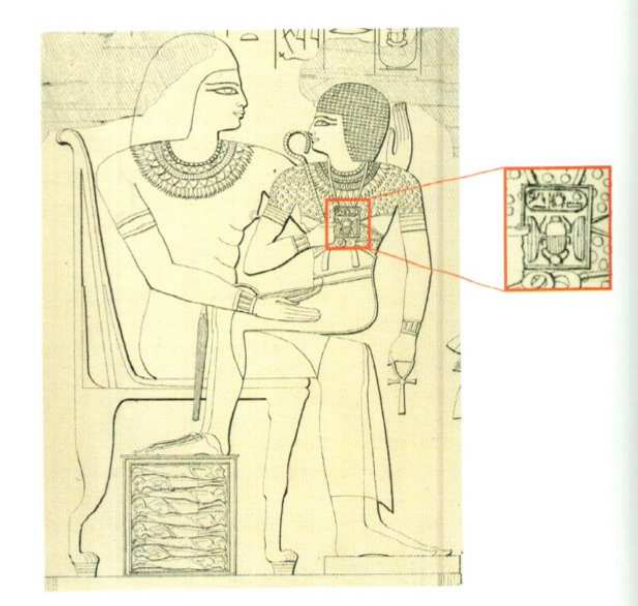


Fig. 8 Thutmosis IV on the lap of Heqareshu, TT 64 (Details of *LD* III, Bl. 69a)

[61] PM I², p. 128.

[62] PM I², p. 128 [7]; J.-F. CHAMPOLLION, *Not. descr.* I, pp. 570–571, 863 A; *LD* III *Text*, p. 260; P. E. NEWBERRY, *The Sons of Tuthmosis IV*, in: *JEA* 14, 1928, pp. 83–85, Pl. XII.

[63] The information on the location of the friezes and the destruction of the wall decoration is based on photographs by N. STRUDWICK.

[64] There is no frieze on the western wall in the southern part of the hall.

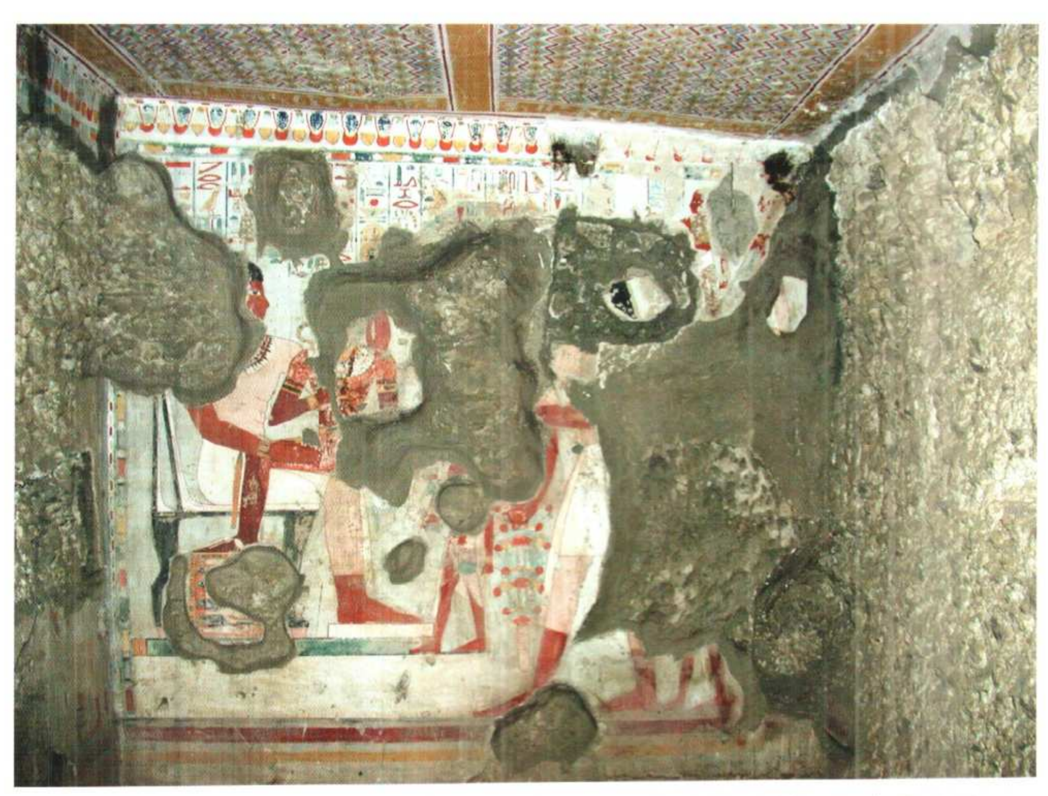


Fig. 9 TT 64: northern end of the hall (© NIGEL STRUDWICK, Cambridge Theban Tombs Project)

same is true for the western wall above the king[65]. Destruction is also evident in the southern part, on the western and eastern end of the southern wall, which shows a false door[66], and on the eastern wall between the two scenes near the entrance of a tomb owner offering and a tomb owner nursing a child (Fig. 7)[67]. As there are no harpists in scenes showing the tomb owner in front of the king and on false doors, both harpists must originate from the walls next to the entrance, which is in accordance with STRATON's description of the position of the single harpist.

Based on the destruction of the frieze in the tomb, STRATON's description and the orientation of the harpists, their fragments can only belong to the scenes with the burnt offering, as was already suggested by MANNICHE for the single harpist[68]. Musicians are not usually part of this scene; however, in TT 74 of Tjanuni, also dating to the reign of Thutmosis IV, there is one burnt offering scene on each side of the entrance[69]. Both depict the tomb owner standing in front of offerings, and behind him at the top of the scene and below the frieze is a lutenist, looking in the same direction as the tomb owner, which makes plausible an allocation of the fragments with the harpists in TT 64 to the scenes of the burnt offerings near the entrance.

As it is possible to fit the fragments of the Bankes Tomb into TT 64, that tomb should now be compared with the four descriptions of the Bankes Tomb:

- TT 64 is a small tomb (C. L. IRBY/J. MANGLES, G. FINATI) with two rooms (G. BELZONI) and a burial pit at one end of the outer room (C. L. IRBY/J. MANGLES).
- There could have been a single harpist (C. L. IRBY/J. MANGLES, G. BELZONI) near the entrance (J. STRATON) and musicians (C. L. IRBY/J. MANGLES, G. BELZONI, G. FINATI) behind him (J. STRATON).
- There could also have been another harpist (C. L. IRBY/J. MANGLES, J. STRATON) in the company of a man with a stringed instrument (C. L. IRBY/J. MANGLES) in another part of the tomb (J. STRATON).
- The wall next to the musicians shows a person with a boy on the lap; the boy holds a *heqa* sceptre in his right hand, an *ankh* sign in his left hand, and

65 PM I², p. 129 [8].

66 PM I², p. 128 [4].

67 PM I², p. 128 [2, 3.1].

68 L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, p. 167.

69 A. BRACK/A. BRACK, *Das Grab des Tjanuni. Theben Nr. 74*, *AV* 19, Mainz 1977, Taf. 20a, 21b.

he wears a necklace with a pendant showing a scarab (J. STRATON).
- The king is depicted and named several times in the tomb[70] (G. FINATI).
- Thutmosis IV is in the Abydos king list (G. FINATI).
- The ceiling of the tomb could be divided into four parts with four different patterns (C. L. IRBY/ J. MANGLES). According to JÉQUIER[71], the decoration of the ceilings of T-shaped tombs was divided into four compartments, which were divided into two segments each: one compartment in the inner hall, and in the outer hall one in each wing and one in the space between the wings, the entry and the doorway to the inner hall. At a minimum, the compartments in the wings in TT 64 show different patterns with identical patterns in the segments of each compartment. If this would be the case for the other two compartments, too, and IRBY and MANGLES counted the compartments and not the segments, than their description would fit.

There is thus much information on the Bankes Tomb in complete accordance to TT 64, but there are also some incongruities:
- There are some discrepancies in the descriptions of the female and male musicians as already pointed out by MANNICHE[72].
- BELZONI mentions a portico, but there are no columns in the tomb, and a portico would not be in accordance to his statement that the tomb is small. However, he describes the Theban tombs as "They are intermixed of all sizes; and some of them have porticoes hewn out of the rocks before the entrance; but, generally, they are within the outer door, which is mostly adorned with well-finished figures and hieroglyphics, ..."[73]. Therefore, he might just refer to representations on the doorjambs of the entrance when writing of a portico. If this is the case, this part of the description would also be in accordance to TT 64[74].
- The person nursing the king is a man and not a woman as stated by STRATON.
- There is no depiction of the Apis bull preserved in TT 64 as described by IRBY and MANGLES.
- Thutmosis IV is not one of the first kings of his dynasty, as the king in the tomb should be according to FINATI. He is the eighth of the 14 kings of the 18th Dynasty and therefore a king of the second half of his dynasty.

Conclusion

All of these discrepancies could basically be explained by the dates of the visits and by the individuals who made the visits and wrote the reports: the visits were made between 1817 and 1819, and the reports published between 1820 and 1830. At the time of the visits the hieroglyphs had not been deciphered completely, only a part of the volumes on antiquities of the *Description de l'Égypte* had been published, and the only other accessible knowledge on Egyptian monuments came from travel reports. Travellers and military men like IRBY and MANGLES, FINATI and STRATON, and early explorers like BELZONI published what they considered interesting. They described monuments, which were probably only accessible in part, whose layout and decoration was unfamiliar and whose inscriptions were illegible for them. Their reports, some written years after their visits, were based on memory and notes they made either during their visits or hours or even days afterwards.

To explain the discrepancies between TT 64 and the reports away by the ignorance of their authors might seem somewhat simplistic, but misunderstandings, mistakes and mix-ups in reports have happened – and probably still do.

STRATON's report would not be the only one where a man was described as a woman[75], and as the hieroglyphs had not been deciphered completely in the time of their visit, we cannot know if BANKES or FINATI even made a note of the king's name or made the note correctly or interpreted the publication from where they got the information on the dynasties correctly. According to JOHN GARDNER WILKINSON[76] in 1828, the 18th Dynasty was supposed to end with Merenptah and left out Hatshep-

[70] PM I², pp. 128–129 [5, 7, 8].

[71] G. JÉQUIER, *Décoration*, p. 6, fig. 1.

[72] L. MANNICHE, *Lost Tombs*, pp. 160, 166–167.

[73] G. BELZONI, *Narrative*, p. 120.

[74] PM I², p. 128 [1].

[75] There is for example the description of the stela Firenze, Museo Archeologico 2567 showing two men facing each other, who were described as men as well as as women in one publication; *Documenti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia* IV, Firenze/ Roma 1880, p. 346 ("figure di uomo"), p. 371 ("due figure di donna") [2]. The reference for both pages is found in the bibliographic information for the stela in S. BOSTICCO, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno, Cataloghi dei Musei e Gallerie d'Italia*, Roma 1965, p. 39 [32]. I thank BEATRIX GESSLER-LÖHR for this reference.

[76] J. G. WILKINSON, *Materia Hieroglyphica*, Malta 1828, p. 78, Pls. I–II, on Pl. IX Abydos king list. BANKES owned a copy of the book which he was gifted by the author on 30. 06. 1829 in Cairo; Dorset History Centre D/BKL/F/ED/XXI/D/5.

sut and the Amarna kings following the Abydos king list.

So BANKES, who recorded the Abydos king list after his visit in Thebes, must have known the throne name of the king of the tomb, which he could not read, at that time and years later when he edited FINATI's biography. Against all expectations there is neither a record of the tomb nor of the fragments with a note on the king's name in BANKES' records in his "Egyptian folders", which are housed at the Dorset History Centre and were catalogued in 2011 by DANIELE SALVOLDI[77]; if there was a record with the king's name, it could either be lost or just be misplaced in the not yet catalogued part of the Kingston Lacy records. But the fact that FINATI does not mention the king by name might indicate that neither FINATI nor BANKES were completely sure of the king's exact name.

Despite the discrepancies and lack of evidence in the records of BANKES, there are several good reasons that the Bankes Tomb is in fact TT 64, the tomb of Heqareshu and Heqarneheh, although I can not definitely rule out an identification with one of the now buried or completely destroyed tombs of the Theban necropolis: the date of the fragments, the identical friezes, the fitting of the fragments according to their description and the conformity of STRATON's description of the nursing scene with the remains of the nursing scene in the tomb, especially when one takes into consideration the rarity of the theme and the inconsistency of its execution in the other tombs.

If that is the case, then TT 64 was first discovered in the first half of 1817 by BELZONI in an excellent state of preservation. Afterwards visitors came to the tomb including IRBY and MANGLES and STRATON, and by 1819 the state of preservation of TT 64 had deteriorated so much that BANKES, against his personal conviction, decided to remove some parts of the decoration to save them.

Abstract

In the early 19th century, WILLIAM JOHN BANKES removed some decorations from a Theban tomb and sent the fragments to his home, Kingston Lacy in Dorset. The tomb has been thought to date from the reign of Thutmosis III, but not to be identifiable with any known tomb of the Theban necropolis. Therefore, it was reasoned that the tomb itself was lost, and the reconstructed tomb has been named the Bankes Tomb (also TT E 3).

In this paper the author re-examines some iconographic details of the fragments and argues that the tomb dates to the reign of Thutmosis IV. Based on this date and by means of the friezes on two of the fragments and the already known travellers' descriptions of the tomb, the author suggests that the Bankes Tomb is not lost, but in fact identical with TT 64, the tomb of Heqareshu and Heqarneheh.

[77] Dorset History Centre D/BKL/F/ED; archives.dorsetforyou.com/adlibwebapp/search.aspx, search term "Egyptian drawings" (29.10.2012).

The Egyptian Expedition in the Valley of the Kings
The Rediscovery of KV 53

By ZAHI HAWASS and AHMED EL-LAITHY

1. Introduction

This tomb[1] is located near the beginning of the southern edge of the subsidiary valley that leads to the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35), southeast of tombs KV 48 and KV 49. It is one of six tombs – KV 48, KV 49, KV 50, KV 51, KV 52 and KV 53 – discovered in this area. Those tombs were found by EDWARD AYRTON in 1905–1906 under the sponsorship of THEODORE DAVIS[2]. Since that time, the last four of these tombs were lost under the sand. Since they were not indicated on a map, their exact locations were unknown, and there were no full details of their dimensions or lists of the objects found inside the tombs available.

It was concluded by AYRTON that tombs KV 50–52 were for the domesticated pets of Amenhotep II. AYRTON described KV 53 consisting of a square shaped shaft that leads to a large room, and reported that it had been robbed. Nothing was found inside except a limestone ostracon with the name of Hory, "overseer of scribes in the justice place" written on it[3]. Using AYRTON's publication, KENT WEEKS drew the tomb and published it on his website but he was not able to locate the entrance[4]. Therefore, we began to search for the lost four tombs so that we could pinpoint their locations, correct their dimensions, and draw proper plans. KV 53 was the first tomb of the four to be rediscovered and to be published scientifically (Figs. 1 and 2).

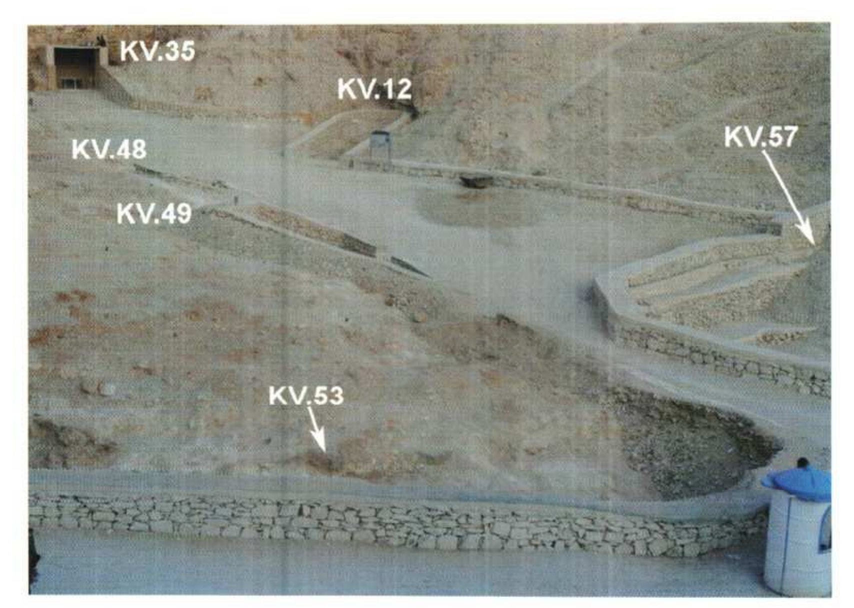


Fig. 1
Location of the tomb

[1] The team that worked in this tomb included: AHMED EL-LAITHY, Field Direction, and AHMED HIEMIDA, SAAD BAKHIET and HASSAN MOHAMED RAMADAN, in addition to SHERIEN AHMED SHAWKI for human bones.

[2] TH. DAVIS, *The Tomb of Siptah, the Monkey Tomb and the Gold Tomb (1905–1906)*, London 1908, pp. 16–19.

[3] N. REEVES/R. WILKINSON, *The Complete Valley of the Kings*, London 1996, p. 186; N. REEVES, *Excavations in the Valley of the Kings, 1905–06. A Photographic Record*, in: *MDAIK* 40, 1984, pp. 232–233.

[4] K. WEEKS, *Atlas of the Valley of the Kings*, Cairo/New York 2003, p. 117, sheet 63; see also www.Thebanmappingproject.com (checked October 16th, 2014).

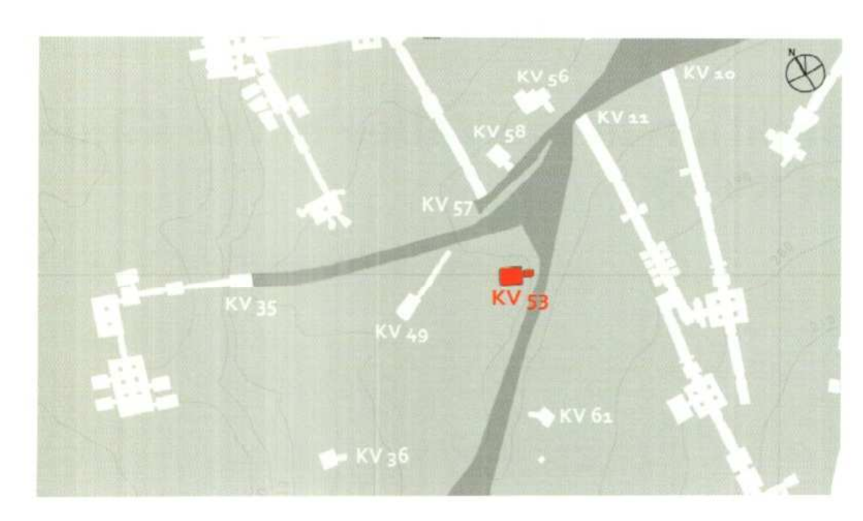


Fig. 2
Map showing the location of KV 53 (done by KENT WEEKS for the Atlas of the Valley of the Kings)

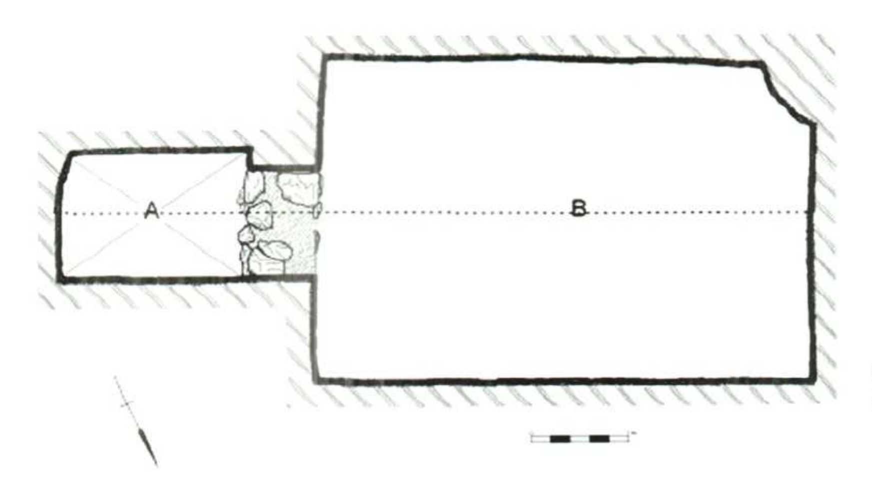


Fig. 3
Groundplan of the tomb

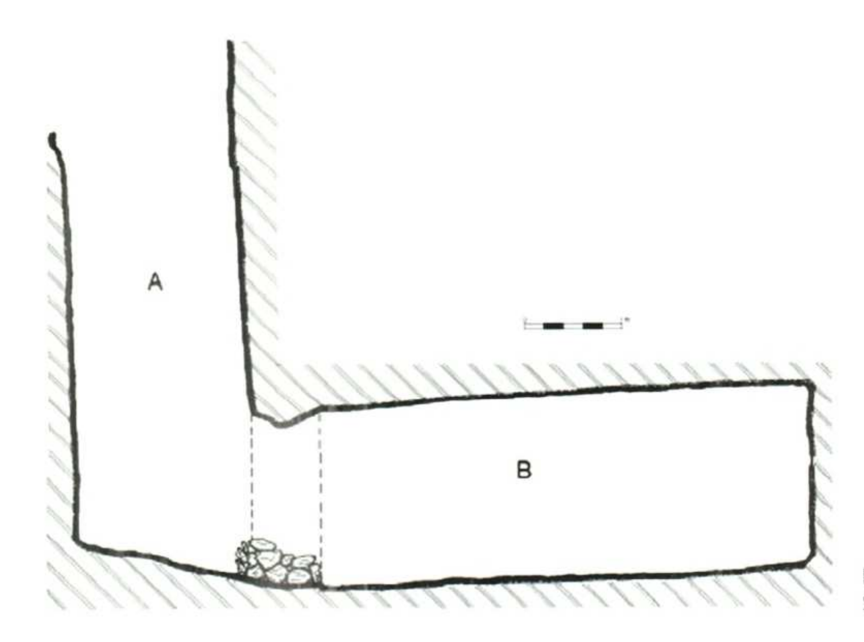


Fig. 4
Section through the tomb

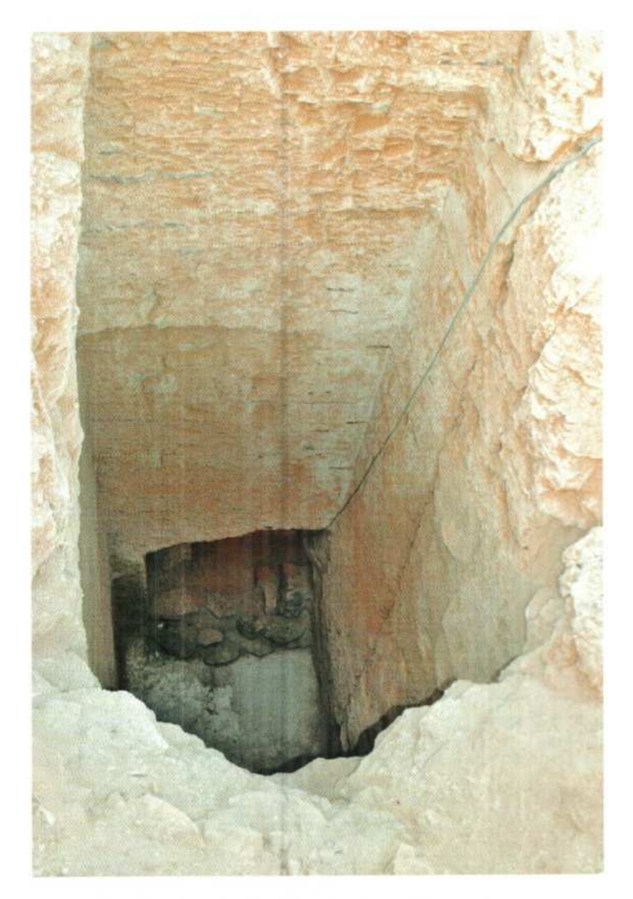


Fig. 5 The shaft of the tomb and the entrance of the burial chamber



Fig. 6 The burial chamber, looking northwest



Fig. 7 Burial chamber and the entrance, looking southeast

2. Brief description of the tomb[5]

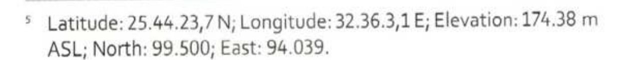
Name of the tomb owner: unknown
Date: Dynasty 18
Scenes and inscription: none
Architectural features: The tomb consists of a vertical shaft (A) about 1.72 m from southeast to northwest and 1.28 m wide from northeast to the southwest and 5.34 m deep. In the center of the northwest wall, an opening leads to a large rectangular room (B). The dimensions of the opening are 1.09 m in width from northeast to southwest and the length of the passage is 0.73 m with 1.74 m in height in the northeast corner and 1.58 m in the southwest corner. Room B is 5.10 m long from southeast to northwest × 3.21 m in width from northeast to southwest with 1.82 m in height (Figs. 3–7).

3. The excavation

We began our work on January 8th, 2011. While removing sand from square D20 of area M, we found the tomb entrance. Its dimensions are 1.72 × 1.28 m about 174.38 m above sea level (Figs. 2, 8–9).

3.1 The entrance of the tomb before excavation

We recognized that this feature should be the entrance of tomb KV 53 from the primary description that was left by AYRTON and the location given by the Theban mapping project. However, the descriptions of KV 50–53, all of which were located very near to one another, were very similar. So to be sure of the identification, we had to wait until we entered the burial chamber that is connected with this shaft.



[5] Latitude: 25.44.23,7 N; Longitude: 32.36.3,1 E; Elevation: 174.38 m ASL; North: 99.500; East: 94.039.



Fig. 8 The entrance of the tomb before excavation



Fig. 9 The entrance of the tomb before excavation



Fig. 10 The shaft during excavation

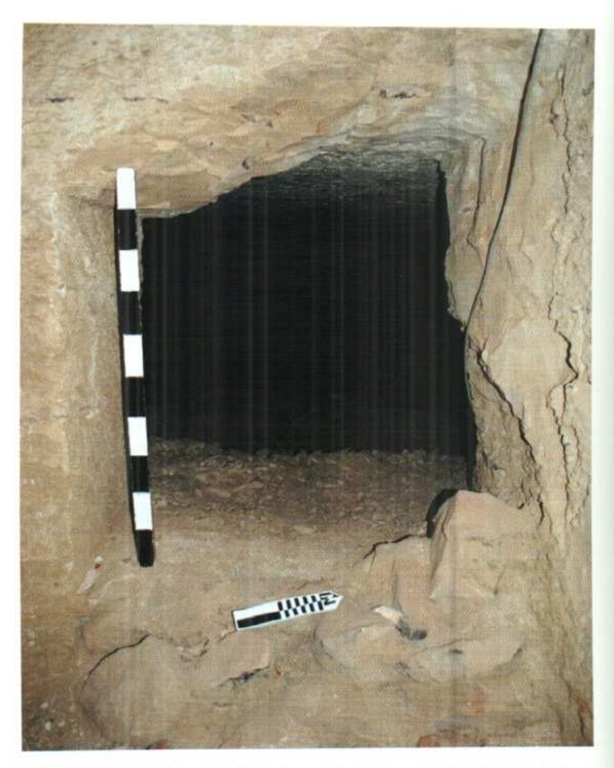


Fig. 11 The burial chamber entrance and the limestone blocks that once closed it



Fig. 12 The burial chamber before excavation



Fig. 13 Human bones above the debris in the burial chamber

The burial chamber confirmed that this tomb was KV 53.

The fill that we removed from the shaft (A) (see Fig. 2) was loose silty sand with limestone shards (Fig. 10) at the top which became a compact layer because of the water that had been concentrated in this shaft for a long time. We reached the opening that leads to the burial chamber (B) (Fig. 2). This was closed by the previous debris, some of which had en-

tered the burial chamber. At the entrance, we found a 0.56 m high and 0.88 m thick pile of limestone blocks, cemented together with compact sandy silt that had once closed the burial chamber entrance (Fig. 11).

The burial chamber (Fig. 12) was filled with sandy silt with limestone shards, pottery shards, human bones (Fig. 13), and a piece of wood, in addition to pieces of burned linen, to a level of about half a meter.

4. Objects found inside the burial chamber

We found four objects inside the burial chamber:

1. Object no. KV 53 11066 (Figs. 14–15).
   Lid of a canopic jar made of limestone, with a human face on it. The eyes and the eyebrows were drawn with black. The hieroglyphic sign of Neith, the protector of the jar of the stomach, was incised on top of the head.
   The dimensions of the lid are 13.5 cm in height and 14 cm in diameter.

2. Object no. KV 53 11067 (Figs. 16–17).
   Lid of a canopic jar made of limestone with a human face with a beard. The eyes and eyebrows were drawn in black. The hieroglyphic sign of Serket, the scorpion, the protector of the jar of the intestine, was incised on top of the head.
   The dimensions of the lid are 10 cm in height and 13.2 cm in diameter.

3. Object no. KV 53 11068 (Fig. 18).
   Metal amulet. It was attached to the mummified skeleton. It was found exactly underneath one of the scattered bones. We examined it at the laboratory and the conservators confirmed the material to be gold. HOWARD CARTER found a similar V-shaped so-called "mummy bandage" amulet in the wrappings of Tutankhamun (Object 256c). Also, ISABEL STUENKEL mentioned to NICHOLAS REEVES that the treasures of the three wives of

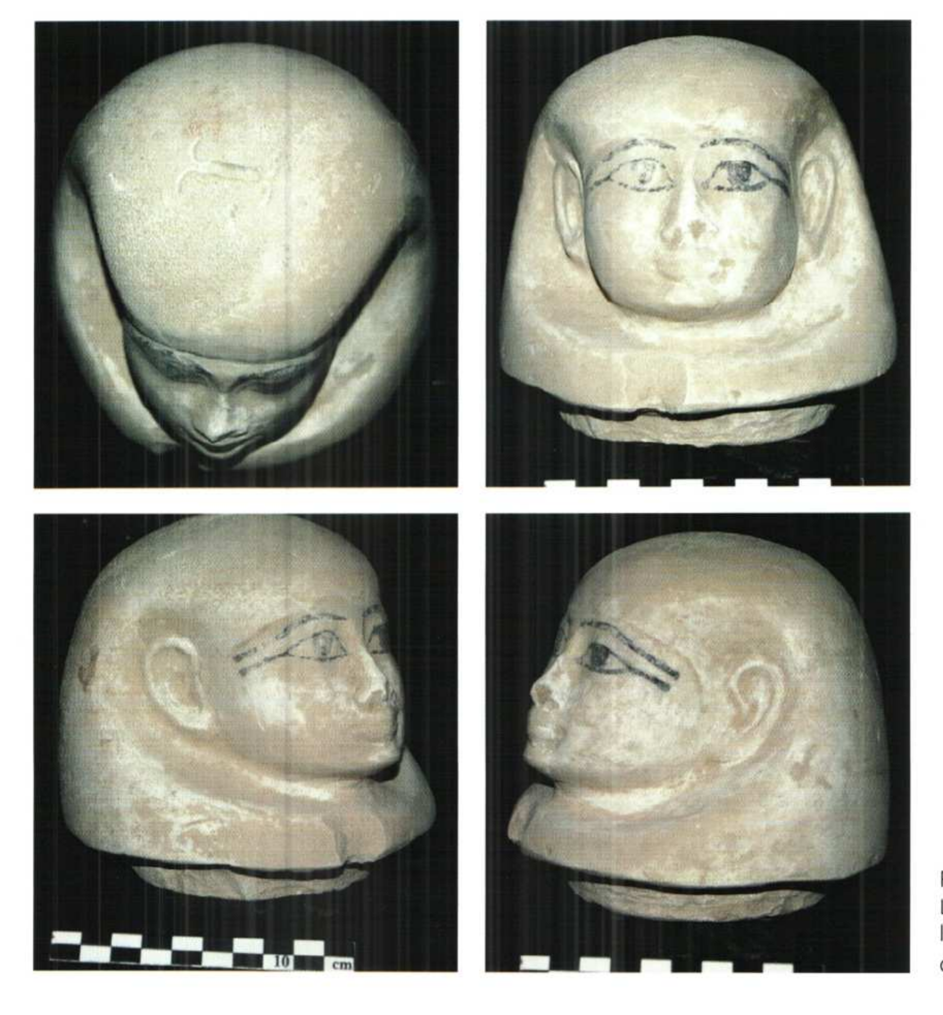


Fig. 14
Lid of a canopic jar made of limestone, with a human face on it


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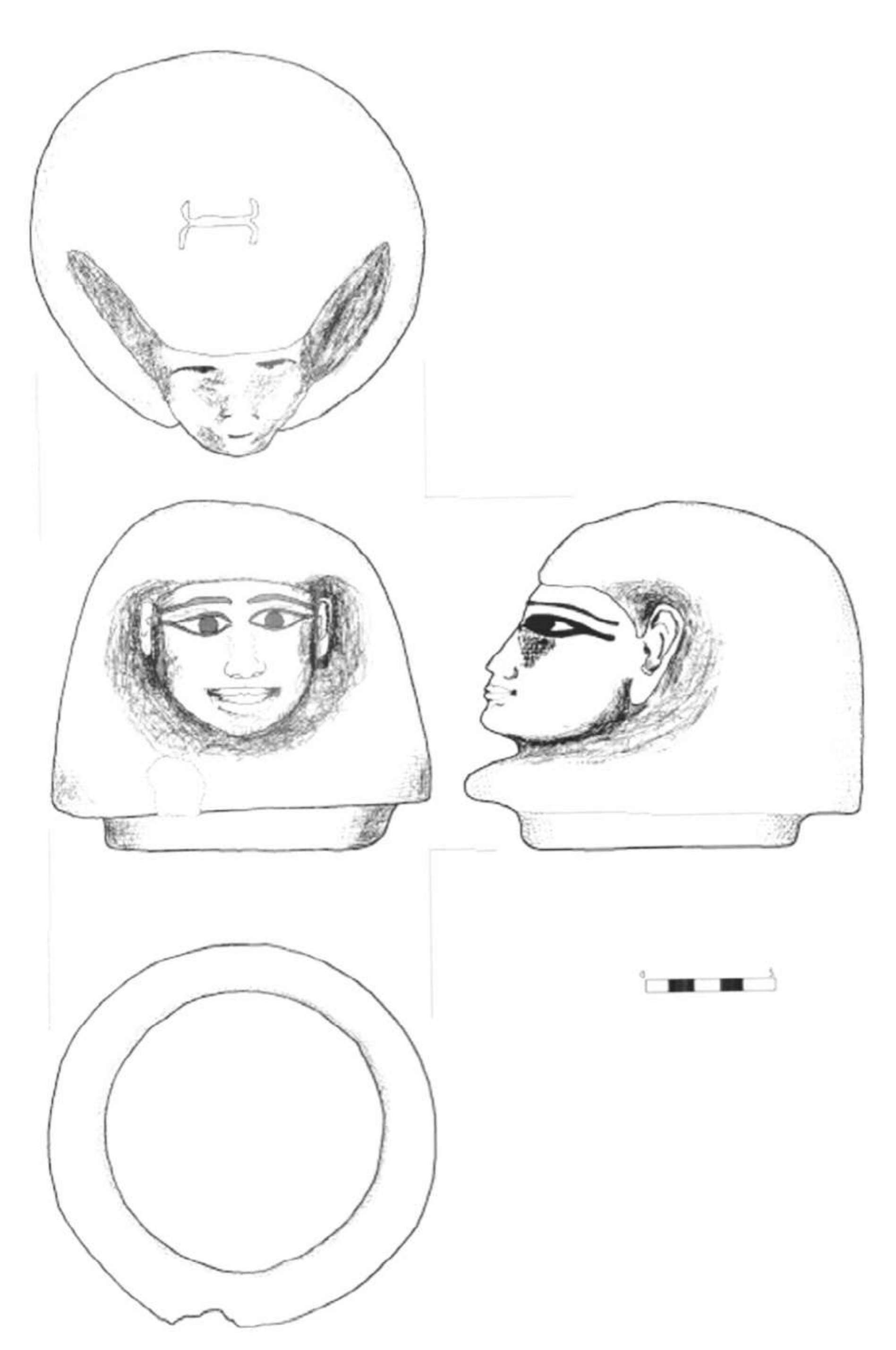


Fig. 15
Lid of a canopic jar made of limestone, with a human face on it

Thutmose III at the Metropolitan Museum included similar V-shaped gold sheet amulets and she also seems to think that other examples of this amulet type were found in the Tanis Royal Burials. Dimensions are 15.5 cm in height and 9.5 cm in width[6].

4. Object no. KV 53 11080 (Fig. 19).
   Canaanite amphora, found in pieces and reconstructed. This can be dated from around 1400 B.C. till 1300 B.C.
   It measures 65 cm in height and 40 cm in diameter.

[6] See N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun. The King, the Tomb, the Royal Treasure*, London 1990, p. 113, bottom row, left.

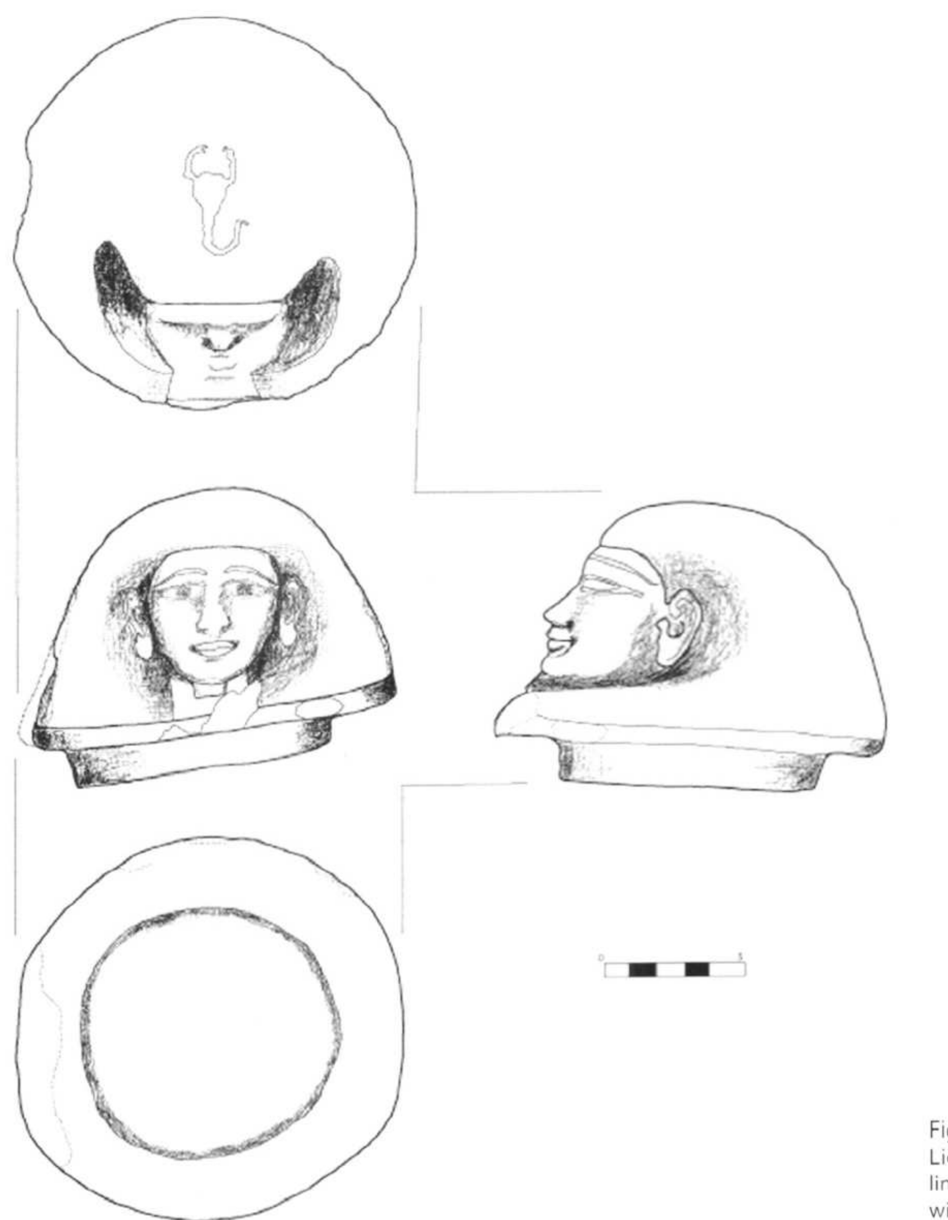


Fig. 16
Lid of a canopic jar made of limestone with a human face with a beard

5. Human bones

The bones were studied by S. A. SHAWKI, who provided the following analysis.

5.1 The condition of the bones

The remains of the bones were spread on the surface of the burial chamber (B) and mixed with the sand, in addition to pieces of burned linen and wood (Fig. 2). These included three skulls, suggesting that there had originally been three people buried here.

The previous reports concluded that the burial chamber had been robbed in ancient times, and that the thieves had broken and burned the bones. In addition, water from flooding had damaged the bones further.

5.2 Method of study

All the bones were taken out of the tomb, photographed, and cleaned. All the bones were examined individually, recorded and registered. We took photos from the slides to understand more about the analysis of the bones. The skeletons were aged and sexed.

5.3 Results

In order to determine age and sex, we focused on the skull and pelvis, along with the Glabella, mastoid pro-



Fig. 17
Lid of a canopic jar made of limestone with a human face with a beard



Fig. 18 Metal amulet

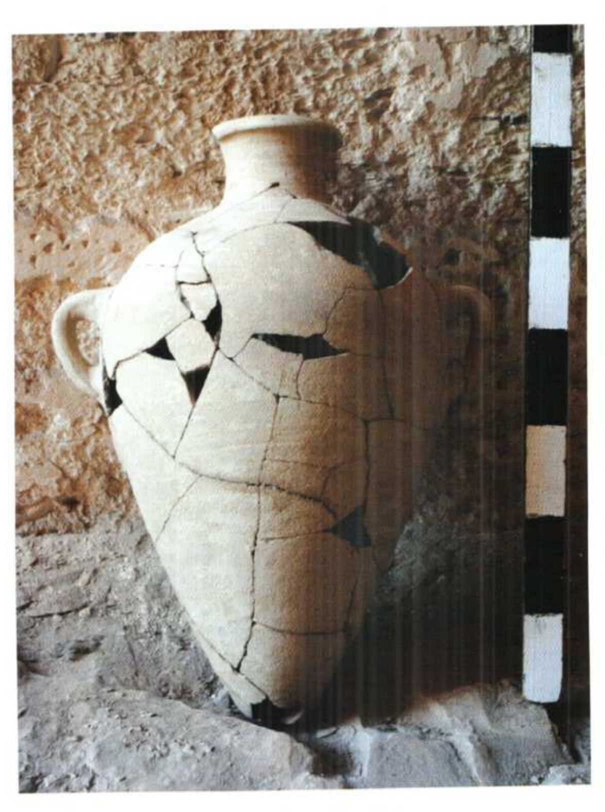


Fig. 19 Canaanite amphora, found in pieces and reconstructed

cess, supra-orbital margin, and the mandible. Through this study, we were able to define the first skull as male (Fig. 20), the second skull as female (Fig. 21), and the third skull as an adult male (Fig. 22).

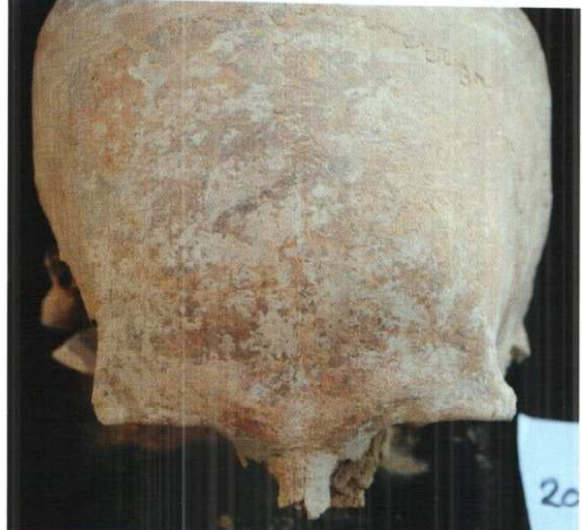



Fig. 20 Male skull



Fig. 21 Female skull



Fig. 22 Adult male



Fig. 23 DX Coxal from a male



Fig. 24 Right bone of the pelvic DX Coxal from a male

Through the pelvic bones, we were able to study the greater sciatic notch and the sub public angle. We found two different pieces of the pelvic bones but they were incomplete and in bad condition. The first part was DX Coxal and was from a male (Fig. 23). The second was the right bone of the pelvic DX Coxal but was in bad condition and belonged to a young male (Figs. 23 and 24).

The age was determined by the position of the bones and how they were connected, along with the study of the teeth. We looked at three bones:

1. The infusion femur, the thigh bone, was not connected to the left side and could have belonged to a boy or a girl (Fig. 25).
2. The left leg (SIN fibula) infusion femur was connected and through comparison of this bone with the one of the right leg, we can tell that it belonged to a person within the ages of 20–23 (Fig. 26).



Fig. 25 The infusion femur could have been for a boy or a girl



Fig. 26 The left leg (SIN fibula) infusion femur belonged to a person within the ages of 20–23

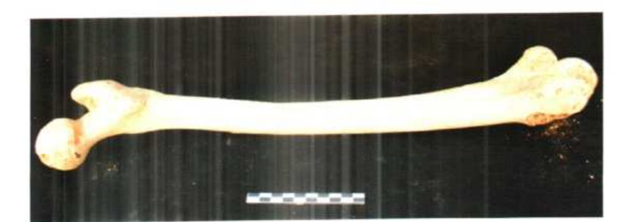


Fig. 27 The bone of the right thigh (DX femur), the infusion femur of an adult

3. The bone of the right thigh (DX femur), the infusion femur was connected. From comparing the bone of the left thigh with this one, we noticed a difference in age between the two because the bones of the right thigh were connected. Therefore, we can say that this person was an adult (Fig. 27).

When we examined the bones (Figs. 28–29), we found evidence of several diseases:

1. Dental caries in the mandibula of the female skull (the second skull). But it decayed before taking a photo was possible.
2. Apical abscess found in one bone on the upper jaw of the skull of the adult male (Fig. 22).
3. A pre-mortem break in one skull on the right side of the head (DX frontal) of the adult male (Fig. 22).
4. We also found osseous arthritis in the adult human remains[7].



Fig. 28 Patellla



Fig. 29 Vertebra

6. Conclusion

KV 53 was robbed in antiquity before it was discovered by Ayrton, as it is evident by the burned linen and bones.

The study of the bones indicates that three people were buried in this tomb. One was an adult male aged about 45, another was a young man of about 20, and the third was a young woman of about 20–25.

We can also tell, due to the bones, that the old man was mummified and perhaps the piece of wood that was found inside the burial chamber could be a part of the coffin of the tomb owner. Also, perhaps the two younger persons were the children of the tomb owner, but the mummification of their bodies was not good compared to the mummification of the tomb owner. We were able to conclude that the tomb owner was mummified because of the pieces of linen found, but we have no evidence that the other two were mummified.

[7] For the study of the bones see W. M. Bass, *Human Osteology: A Laboratory and Field Manual*, Missouri 1987; D. H. Brothwell, *Digging up Bones*, *British Museum Publication*, Oxford 1981; S. Ikram/A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt. Equipping the Dead for Eternity*, London 1998; H. Nathan, *Osteophytes of the Vertebral Column*, in: *Journal of Bone Joint Surgery* 44a(2), 1962, pp. 243–268; D. H. Ubelaker, *Human Remains: Excavation, Analysis, Interpretation*, Chicago 1978; T. D. While/P. W. Folkens, *The Human Bone Manual*, Burlington 2005; K. R. Burns, *Forensic Anthropology Training Manual*, New Jersey 1999.

Abstract

The Egyptian expedition of the Supreme Council of Antiquities SCA was able to rediscover KV 53. The tomb was originally found by EDWARD AYRTON in 1905–1906. KV 53 belongs to the shaft tomb type. The excavation revealed important artifacts, such as canopic jars, a v-shaped gold piece, and human remains. The study of the remains showed that three people were buried in KV 53, an adult and two children.

The Uronarti Regional Archaeological Project
Final Report of the 2012 Survey

By Christian Knoblauch, Laurel Bestock
with contributions by Alexander Makovics

1. Introduction

It was long believed that the Middle Kingdom fortress on Uronarti had disappeared below the waters of Lake Nubia, as had other numerous archaeological sites in Lower Nubia and the region of the *Batn el-Hagar*. It was only relatively recently, in 2004, that Derek Welsby related the news in the Journal *Sudan & Nubia*, that both the fortresses at Uronarti and Shalfak had in fact survived the deluge and were sitting mostly unscathed above the then height of the reservoir[1]. This surprising discovery was obviously very welcome news, for the wholesale destruction of the Egyptian fortresses was mourned as one of the major losses to Nubian archaeology, and indeed world heritage, caused by the construction of the *Sadd el-Ali*[2]. The sense of loss was compounded by the knowledge that although most of the fortresses had been investigated to some degree, this had occurred either early in the history of Egyptian archaeology (i. e. Uronarti and Shalfak, which were excavated by a joint mission of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts [BMFA] and Harvard University) when methods and aims were rudimentary, or in great haste by rescue missions ahead of the advancing waters. As a result, it is commonly acknowledged that the documentation for these sites is incomplete and at times inadequate for modern scientific purposes. The survival of the two fortresses at Uronarti and Shalfak is hence an unlooked-for reprieve and second chance to redress at least some of the deficiencies in our record of these impressive monuments, and to generate new data and pose new questions.

Towards this end, the University of Vienna and Brown University have instigated a project of survey in cooperation with National Corporation of Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) with the goal of determining the potential and priorities of new archaeological work at the fortresses and in their vicinities. As the aims of the survey are both site specific and regional, the concession currently includes the site of both fortresses and the eastern and western banks of the river from just south of Saras south to Semna to a distance of 5 km from the river. The first season of survey took place from the 28th of March to the 3rd of April 2012 and was conducted by a small team of six persons[3]. The work on the island itself consisted of a new documentation of the topography of the island of Uronarti, a pedestrian survey of the island, a documentation and analysis of pottery from exposed

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[1] D. Welsby, *Hidden Treasures of Lake Nubia*, in: *Sudan & Nubia* 8, 2004, pp. 103–104.

[2] J. Vercoutter, *Les fortress égyptiennes du Bath el-Haggar ou les failles d'une campagne*, in: *CRIPEL* 17, 1995, pp. 25–35.

[3] The campaign was financed by funds from the Joukowsky Institute of Archaeology and the Egyptology Department of Brown University, the Curtis T. & Mary G. Brennan Fund and private donations. The team members were M. Abdelwahab Mohamed (magnetometer), S. Abderabo Abdelwahab (archaeologist and NCAM inspector), S. Allen (ceramicist), L. Bestock (archaeologist and project co-director), Ch. Knoblauch (archaeologist and project co-director), and A. Makovics (surveyor and GIS specialist). We would like to thank the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for their kind permission to use the unpublished field diaries written by Noel F. Wheeler during his excavations on Uronarti (1928–1930). It's also a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance of David Edwards, who provided us with unpublished information belonging to the UNESCO-Antiquities Service Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal led by Anthony Mills from 1964 till 1969. For published details of that survey, see W. Y. Adams, *The Nubian Archaeological Campaigns of 1959–1969: Myths and Realities, Successes and Failures*, in: C. Bonnet (ed.), *Actes du VIIe Congrès International d'Études Nubiennes, 3–8 septembre 1990*, Geneva 1992, pp. 3–27; A. Mills, *The Reconnaissance from Gemai to Dal – A Preliminary Report*, in: *Kush* 13, 1965, pp. 1–12; Id., *The Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal – Report on the 1965–66 Season*, in: *Kush* 15, 1973, pp. 200–220; Id., *The Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal*, in: C. Bonnet (ed.), *Actes du VIIe Congrès International d'Etudes Nubiennes, 3–8 septembre 1990*, Geneva 1992, pp. 29–31; A. Mills/H.-Å. Nordström, *The Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal – Preliminary Report on the Season 1964–65*, in: *Kush* 14, 1966, pp. 1–15.

archaeological features, and a magnetometer survey of selected areas. Further afield, the team began a pedestrian survey on the Western bank near the fortress of Semna West and visited the fortress of Shalfak.

This report will open with a discussion of the methods of the survey, followed by a discussion of the results of the survey. This is separated into sections dealing with the island of Uronarti itself and the broader region. The report concludes with a consideration of the significance of finds to date and the potential of this area for future archaeological work.

2. The Survey: aims and methods

The purpose of the survey was to record topography (Fig. 1), document visible surface remains of human activity, collect and analyse a sample of surface artifacts, and test the applicability of magnetometry for finding architectural remains. Towards these ends, three methods of surveying were used: collection of topographic data by means of a dual-frequency Geographic Positioning System with an integrated cellular modem; pedestrian survey with and without artifact collection; and magnetometry survey. The first two were used both on Uronarti and, in a more limited way, in the broader region. The magnetometry survey was restricted to the island. Further and more intensive topographic and pedestrian surveys are planned, as is a detailed architectural survey. The utility of magnetometry survey is less clear, particularly as the region is characterized more by deflation of sites than by accumulation of deposits on top of architecture. Limited additional subsurface survey is planned.

The collection of topographic data was done by intensive traversing of Uronarti while holding a Topcon GRS-1 GPS unit. Given the often steep nature of the geography as well as the presence of heavy brush in some areas, it was not possible to walk a systematic set of paths. Thus while the goal to record the overall topographic setting was achieved, there was some small loss in the ability to record small-scale topographic changes. The Topcon GRS-1 was chosen for its ability to provide maximum surveying capability in the smallest package, and in most scenarios is capable of centimeter RTK [Real Time Kinematic] accuracy, within the ranges 10 mm + 1.0 ppm horizontally and 20 mm + 1.0 ppm vertically. The GRS-1 features the ability to provide differential GPS correction in real time through WAAS [Wide Area Augmentation System] and EGNOS [European Geostationary Navigation Overlay Service] signals, as well as the ability to provide differential GPS [DGPS] correction through the use of cellular towers. Unfortunately, these abilities were not able to be utilized in such a remote location such as Uronarti; no Continuously Operating Reference Stations [CORS] penetrated that far south for RTK corrections, and in any case if they were utilized, a substantial amount of GPS 'drift' would have been encountered on the order of several meters. Thus the GRS-1 was used as a stand-alone rover unit, without the benefit of baselines or a local base station set up collecting continuously. The typical nominal accuracy achieved utilizing both GPS and GLONASS satellite systems was around 35 cm, with greater accuracy < 5 cm achieved logging specific collection areas or Magnetometry area. For the topographic survey, approximately 4000 points total were collected over the course of a single day; all data was logged as raw and was not post-processed, and was immediately ported to ArcGIS for delineation of topographic features.

The pedestrian survey included traverse of all accessible parts of the ancient island, though again the presence of steep sections and heavy brush prevented the walking of systematic transects. Once areas of ancient human activity had been identified, samples of surface artifacts were collected for analysis. Sampling strategies differed in different parts of the island, being affected by topographic considerations, by artifact density, and by the expected degree of disturbance by previous archaeological activity. The areas of collection were recorded by means of the GRS. Artifacts collected were ceramic sherds and unfired mud jar stoppers. Details and analysis of these finds are dealt with by area below; all records were kept in a Filemaker database.

The recording of artefacts was conducted at our camp site. Principally it consisted of ceramic remains that were removed from the surface of sites investigated during the survey. No sherds from below the surface were taken. As a rule, all sherds, both diagnostic (rims, bases, handles, decorated sherds, sherds bearing potmarks) and non-diagnostic sherds from a sample were processed. Processing consisted of the following steps:

1. The sherds were collected from the surface of the site and placed in a plastic bag along with a metal tag on which the context number (URAP # = Uronarti Regional Archaeological Project) was indented.
2. The sherds were taken back to the camp and were washed and laid out on a plastic mat to dry according to context.

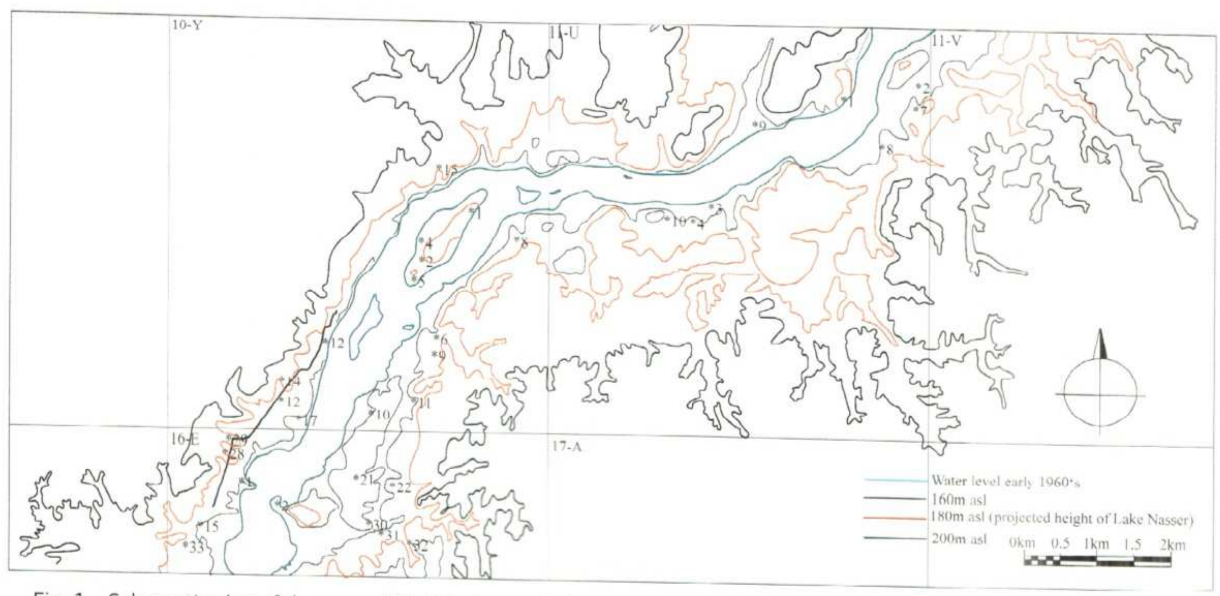


Fig. 1 Schematic plan of the area of Shalfak-Semna before the completion of the Aswan Dam (after A. MILLS in: *Kush* 15, 1973, Fig. 1; K. OTTO/G. BUSCHENDORF, *Felsbilder aus dem sudanesischen Nubien*, Berlin 1993, Taf. 19, 25). Uronarti Fortress is Site 1 in Square 10-Y. The Fortress of Shalfak is Site 1 in Square 11-U. The Fortress at Semna West is Site 1 in Square 16-E[4]

3. Once dry, the sherds were sorted according to 'ware'. The ware was determined by taking five characteristics of the sherd into consideration: the fineness of the sherd, the fabric, the surface treatment (i. e. scraped, wet smoothed, polished), the presence/absence and type of slip, and the type of temper. Where applicable, the fabric was defined along the lines of the Vienna System as described by JANINE BOURRIAU and HANS-ÅKE NORDSTRÖM[5]. Identification of the fabric was conducted by creating a fresh break with a pair of tile cutters and observing the break with a x18 and x10 hand lens.
4. After the entire context had been sorted, the sherds of each ware were quantified. Quantification was achieved through two different methods. First, the sherds belonging to each ware group were counted. Second, the groups of sherds were weighed. Diagnostics and non-diagnostics were quantified separately.
5. As we wish to establish a new corpus of pottery, all well preserved diagnostics (more than 5 % of aperture or base etc. preserved) were drawn unless they were more or less identical to an already drawn sherd. Each drawn sherd was given a number in the form of P12 (Pottery 2012)-sequential number that was written with permanent marker on the sherd. A "D" was written in a circle on each sherd to indicate that it had been drawn.
6. All diagnostics were photographed and fabric shots were made of particularly diagnostic fabrics. In all 775 sherds were processed and 46 sherds were drawn.

Magnetometry survey was carried out in three areas on the ancient island by means of a Geoscan Fluxgate Gradiometer. The survey was laid out in a grid pattern of squares with sides of 20 m; the measurements of each grid were collected in parallel traverses 0.5 m apart with a sample interval of 0.125 m. The three areas targeted were deliberately very different. They were:

1. A semi-flat hill above the high-water mark with no known occupation (Fig. 2:9, visible during survey in Fig. 25 on p. 129);
2. An area outside the fortress where the Harvard-Boston expedition had found mudbrick wall remains some of which were no longer visible from the surface (Fig. 2:2);
3. An area covered by recent deposits of the annual flooding where the Harvard-Boston expedition

[4] The topographical data for the map was compiled by WILLIAM Y. ADAMS based on stereoscopic pairs of aerial photos taken mostly at 1:25,000. The grids and numbering thereof are those established by ADAMS. The numbering and localisation of sites on the map was by A. MILLS (Map by CH. KNOBLAUCH).

[5] H.-Å. NORDSTRÖM/J. BOURRIAU, *Fascicle 2. Ceramic Technology: Clays and Fabrics*, in: DO. ARNOLD/J. BOURRIAU (eds.), *An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, SDAIK 17, Mainz 1993, pp. 143–190 (hereafter H.-Å. NORDSTRÖM/J. BOURRIAU, *Ceramic Technology*).

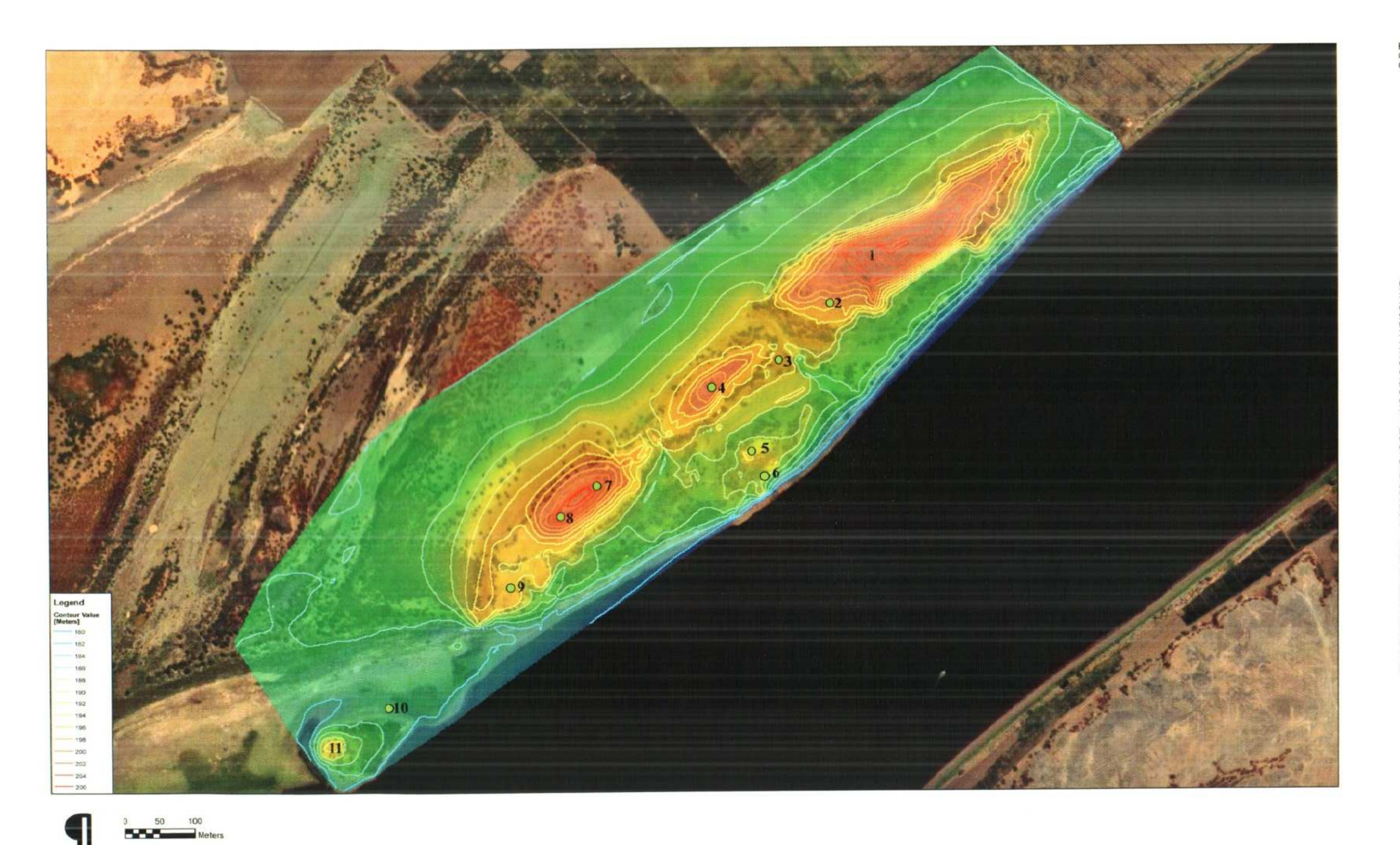


Fig. 2 New topographic map of Uronarti with new areas of work: 1. The Upper Fortress; 2. Magnetometry in the Outer Fortress; 3. Magnetometry on the northern slope of Hill A; 4 Stone Structure on the Summit of Hill A; 5. Site FC West; 6. Site FC East; 7. Stone Structure on Hill C; 8. Stone Structure on Hill C; 9. Magnetometry on southern flank of Hill C; 10. Magnetometry in the area of the "Campaign Palace"; 11. Architectural remains on Hill G (Image by A. MAKOVICS)

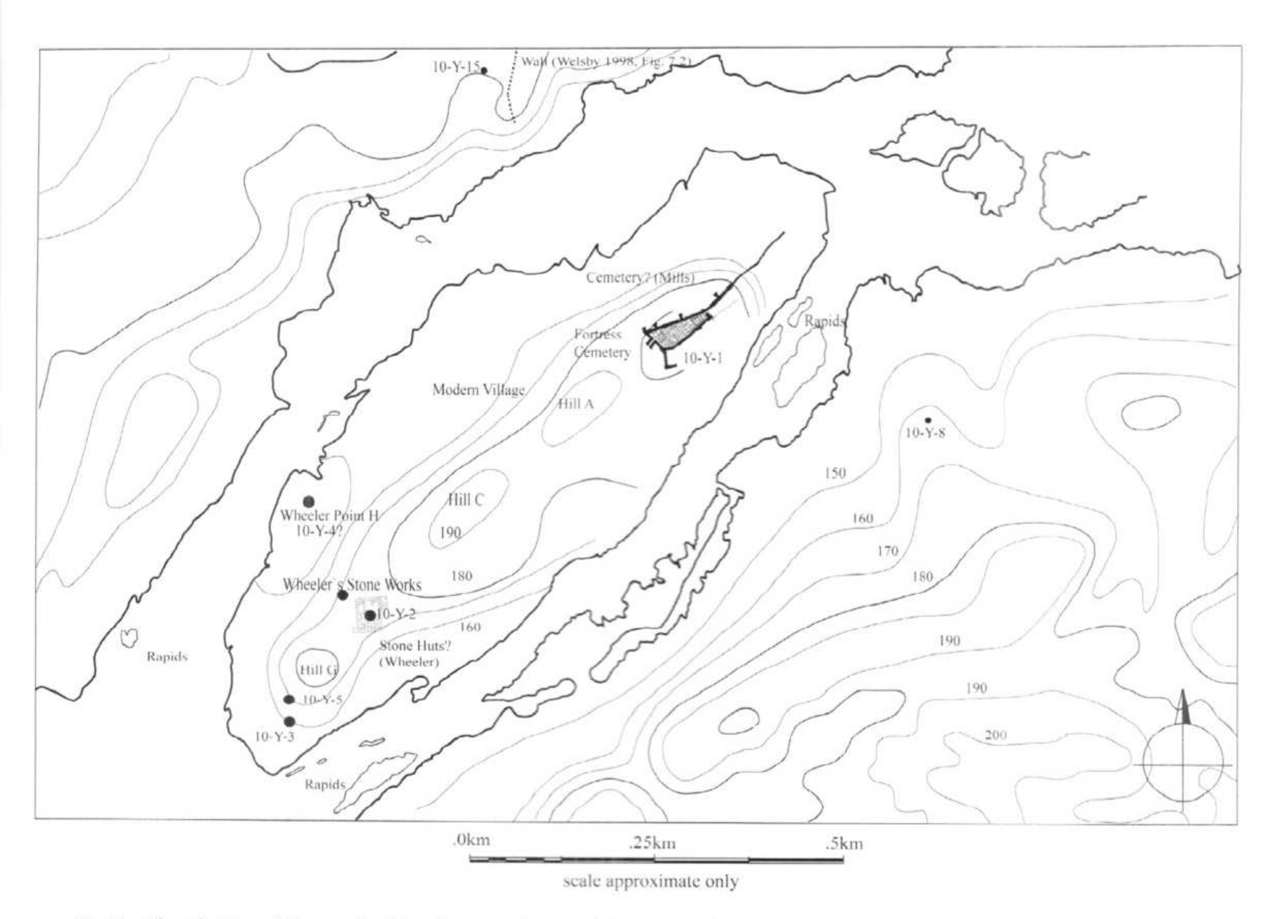


Fig. 3 Sketch Map of Uronarti before the completion of the Aswan dam (Reconstruction of topography after D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, Map II; A. MILLS in: *Kush* 15, 1973, Fig. 1; K. OTTO/G. BUSCHENDORF, *Felsbilder aus dem sudanesischen Nubien*, Berlin 1993, Taf. 19, 25; P. SHINNIE, in: *Kush* 3, 1955, Pl. CIV [aerial photograph], N. WHEELER, *Diary 1929–30*, p. 22 [sketch])[6]

had found an enigmatic brick structure of unknown relationship to the fortress (Fig. 2:10).

The first area returned no meaningful results. This is probably because there was no substantial human activity in this area in the past, though it is possible that deflation of the site has destroyed any architecture that was once there. The second area did return results, but did not materially add to our understanding of the fortress or its preservation. The third area was also disappointing, but holds somewhat more promise; it is discussed below.

3. Results of the Survey

Modern Geography, Environment and Land-use of the Island of Uronarti

In the last 50 years the landscape of Uronarti Island has changed radically, and it continues to change to the present day. Originally, Uronarti was one of the larger islands at the downstream end of the *Batn el-Hagar*, a narrow portion of the Nile valley where the river churned along a narrow channel. It had gouged out of the exposed granite bedrock[7]. It measured ca.

[6] The map is a compromise in many ways. The shoreline is according to the aerial photograph published by SHINNIE that appears to show the area at mid to low water level. In contrast, the plan by ADAMS (on which the MILLS and OTTO/BUSCHENDORF are based) shows a higher shoreline. The shoreline (low and high water) as surveyed by WHEELER is inaccurate and was used only for localising points of interest. It should be noted that the placement of sites in OTTO/BUSCHENDORFF is only one possible interpretation of the published version of the MILLS survey plan and we have hence made use of unpublished notes concerning the positioning of the surveyed sites in the local geography as our guide in conjunction with the plan made by MILLS (Image by CH. KNOBLAUCH).

[7] For general descriptions of the river, landscape and environment of the *Batn el-Hagar*, see W. Y. ADAMS, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*, London 1977, pp. 26–28 and A. MILLS, *The Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal*, in: C. BONNET (ed.), *Actes du VII*[e] *Congrès International d'Études Nubiennes, 3–8 septembre 1990*, Geneva 1992, pp. 29–30.



Fig. 4 Satellite image of the Island of Uronarti at high water (Image by A. Makovics/Digi Globe)



Fig. 5
Looking southeast over the cultivation towards the Fortress, from approximately the area of the old Western channel (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

1.1 km north to south and had a maximum east-west width of ca. 800 m (compare Fig. 3 (then) with Fig. 4 (now))[8]. The island (then and now) is defined by a raised ridge of exposed granite basal complex that runs north-south with four major elevated summits of varying height; the northern three are over 190 m above sea level (asl) and the southernmost over 180 m asl. These are generally elongated in a north-south direction and very steep-sided. In the terminology of the BMFA expedition these are from North to South: The Fortress Hill, Hill A, Hill C and Hill G. The first three run more or less continuously into one another, but there was and is a flattish saddle between Hills C and G. The eastern and western flanks of the granite spine were overlain with alluvium and wind-blown sand that comprised approximately 80 % of the island's surface area. From the late 1960s onwards, as the waters of the dam rose to a maximum height (184 m asl) the hills in fact become small independent islands as the lower lying portions of the island were flooded[9]. However, the height of the water has not been static following the construction of the dam. Although there are more dams upstream of the lake, there are still seasonal variations in the Nile-height due to the annual inundation, and most importantly, the height of the lake is also deliberately adjusted by Egypt. One of the effects of the unnatural environmental conditions created by the dam has been the deposition of Nile sediments at artificially high rates, especially in slow moving river channels, or downstream of significant obstacles such as islands. This has resulted in the deposition of very high sediments (= 184 m asl) in the old Nile channel to the west of Uronarti in a short space of time. As a consequence, at times of low water (= 181 m asl) Uronarti is no longer an island but is attached to the western bank by a wide expanse of flat alluvium (Fig. 5). This was the case when we conducted our survey season and we walked to the fortress from the west bank. This new land stretches from well south of the island towards Semna, northward to the bend in the river just to the south of Saras. Further depositions have been equally intensive in the ancient saddles between the peaks of the island. In some areas, these

[8] The reconstruction of the environment of the lost portions of Uronarti is based on the accounts of WHEELER (especially N. WHEELER, *Unpublished Field Diary of Excavations at Semna and Uronarti*, 1928–29 (hereafter N. WHEELER, *Diary 1928–1929*), and N. WHEELER, *Unpublished Field Diary of Excavations at Semna and Uronarti*, 1929–30 (hereafter N. WHEELER, *Diary 1929–1930*)), A. MILLS (*Unpublished Notes from Survey*) and earlier visitors including L. BORCHARDT, *Altägyptische Festungen an der Zweiten Nilschnelle*, Leipzig 1923, pp. 12–14 (hereafter L. BORCHARDT, *Alt-ägyptische Festungen*), and R. WELLS, *A Note on the Fortress of Gazîrat el-Malik*, in: *JEA* 3, 1916, pp. 180–181. An aerial photograph of the island that was probably commissioned by VERCOUTTER and subsequently published by P. SHINNIE, *Air Photographs of Semma and Uronarti Fortress*, in: *Kush* 3, 1955, Pl. XIV, is of great use. At the time of writing, it had not yet proven possible to examine the copy negatives of the aerial photographs commissioned by ADAMS that are stored at SARS, London. We thank D. EDWARDS for sharing the information of their current whereabouts with us.

[9] This measurement and all ASL measurements in this paper are based on our own survey results and measurements. The conventional highest recorded level of flooding observed at Qasr Ibrim during the 1990's was 181.8 m, cf. P. ROSE, *A New Threat to Qasr Ibrim*, in: *EA* 13, 1998, p. 16. The situation is well illustrated by the latest Google Earth image for this portion of the Sudan taken on the 23rd of February 2003.

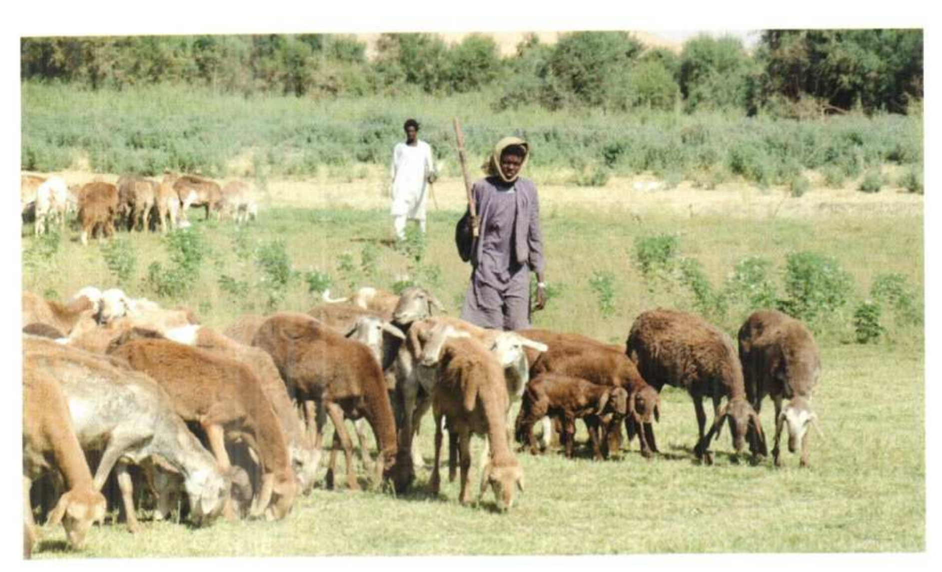


Fig. 6
Modern land-use at Uronarti (Photo by L. Bestock)

natural processes may have been given assistance by land reclamation efforts but we have no proof of this. Unsurprisingly, this new land is incredibly fertile; dense shrub grows in the saddles, and many of the open expanses are currently being cultivated heavily (Fig. 5). Some of the farmers are the descendents of villagers who used to live on Uronarti before the construction of the dam. The land is also utilised as seasonal grazing lands by nomadic pastoralists and by camel traders who bring their flocks down to the river on the northward journey to the camel markets at Aswan (Fig. 6). Eerily, and probably for the first time in millennia, the region of the Second Cataract has the appearance of a fertile oasis.

Archaeological Features

The pedestrian survey and magnetometry allowed us to recognize and record several areas of archaeological material. Some of these have been previously published, some were previously unknown, and some were known but never published. From north to south these are:

- The Middle Kingdom fortress and its associated outbuildings (Fig. 2–3, 7–17); cleared by Harvard/BMFA
- A Middle Kingdom settlement site to the east of Hill A (Fig. 2:5–6, 21–23); called by us Site FC, previously unknown
- Stone structures and tumulus on Hills A and C (Fig. 2:4, 7, 8); previously known
- The area of the so-called "Campaign Palace" (Fig. 2:10, Fig. 3, 26); cleared and published by Harvard/BMFA
- Stone architectural elements and a grave on Hill G (Fig. 2:11, Fig. 3, 26–28); cleared by Harvard/BMFA but never published

The Fortress

The major architectural feature of the island of Uronarti is the Egyptian Middle Kingdom fortress *ẖsf iwn.tyw* (plan Fig. 16, photographs Fig. 7–15). Perched high on a bluff dominating the river, the site has been frequently visited since the early days of research in the Sudan[10], and the site even features in the Baedeker guide of 1914[11]. It was excavated completely from 1928–1930 by Noel F. Wheeler for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts/Harvard Mission under the direction of George Reisner[12]. The site was visited but not further examined by Mills in 1964 as part of the

[10] L. Borchardt, *Altägyptische Festungen*, pp. 12–13; J. H. Breasted, *Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition*, in: *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 25 Nr. 1, 1908, p. 108; J. Larson, *Lost Nubia. A Centennial Exhibit of the Photos from the 1905–1907 Egyptian Expedition of the University of Cairo, Oriental Institute Museum Publications* 24, Chicago 2006, pp. 38–39; E. A. W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan. Its History and Monuments* 1, London 1907, pp. 488–494; C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Text V, Leipzig 1913, p. 189; G. Steindorff, *Vorläufiger Bericht über seine im Winter 1899/1900 nach der Oase Siwe und nach Nubien unternommenen Reisen*, in: *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl.-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philologische-Historische Klasse* 52, 1900, pp. 231–233; R. Wells, in: *JEA* 3, p. 180.

[11] K. Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan, Handbook for Travellers*, Leipzig 1914, p. 413.

[12] D. Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts* II. *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, Boston 1967 (hereafter D. Dunham, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*); G. Reisner, *Ancient Egyptian Forts at Semna and Uronarti*, in: *BMFA* 27, 1929, pp. 64–67; Id., *Ancient Egyptian Forts at Semna and Uronarti*, in: *Sudan Notes and Records* 12, 1929, pp. 144–161; Id., *Uronarti*, in: *Sudan Notes and Records* 14, 1931, pp. 1–14; Id.,



Fig. 7 Satellite Image of the Upper Fortress (Image by A. MAKOVICS)



Fig. 8 View looking south over blocks VI, V and IV: Block VI, Room 169 is in the foreground; To the left of the picture are the remains of the eastern fortification wall and between it and Blocks IV–VI runs East Wall Street-north[13]

Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal[14]. We understand that the most recent work at the fortress was a brief clearance and examination of the stone temple by FRIEDRICH HINKEL in February 1964[15].

Uronarti fortress was built entirely on the northernmost hill of the island at an elevation between 192–204 m asl that has allowed it to mostly escape the rising waters of Lake Nasser. The fortress is still very much a monumental presence (Fig. 7), as can also be seen in Google Earth (coordinates: 21°31′33″ N 30°59′25″ E). The interior of the monument and the "outer fortress" were entirely cleared by WHEELER and because it is at a higher elevation than anything else in the immediate vicinity it has largely escaped being reburied in the intervening 80 years (Fig. 8). Some windblown sand has banked against a few of the walls, but the main street is still entirely clean (Fig. 9). Considerable collapse has occurred since the original excavation of the fort, with some walls that appear to have toppled quite recently (Fig. 10). A recent spate of treasure hunting has resulted in holes being dug into the floors of most rooms and many stone elements such as column bases being moved from their original locations. Nonetheless, the plan of the fortress is still extremely clear and in some cases walls remain to a height over 3 m (Fig. 11). We can also report that while the site of the New Kingdom stone temple is apparently in relatively good condition, any exposed stone surfaces have been covered by modern graffiti, most of which has been incised

Clay Sealings of Dynasty XIII from Uronarti Fort, in: *Kush* 3, 1955, pp. 26–69; ID., *The Egyptian Forts from Halfa to Semna*, in: *Kush* 8, 1960, pp. 11–24; G. REISNER/N. WHEELER, *The Art of Seal Carving in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom*, in: *BMFA* 28 No. 167, 1930, pp. 47–55; N. WHEELER, *Diary 1928–1929*; ID., *Diary 1929–1930*; ID., *The Harvard-Boston Expedition in the Sudan, 1930–31*, in: *BMFA* 29, 1931; ID., *Expeditions of the Harvard-Boston Expedition in Halfa Province, 1930–1931*, in: *Sudan Notes and Records* 15, 1931, pp. 251–260.

13 Compare D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, Pl. III A. The terminology is that established by WHEELER. Block VI was identified by B. KEMP, *Large Middle Kingdom Granary Buildings and the Archaeology of Administration*, in: *ZÄS* 113, 1986, pp. 124–125 as the fortress granary (Photo by L. BESTOCK).

14 Site Number 10-Y-1; A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 13, 1965, p. 5; ID., *Unpublished Notes from Survey*.

15 F. HINKEL, *Progress Report on the Dismantling and Removal of Endangered Monuments in Sudanese Nubia from August 1963–August 1964*, in: *Kush* 13, 1965, pp. 96–101.



Fig. 9 View looking south along Middle Street from the area of Block IV: The northward extent of the stone pavers was not indicated in the published plan (D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, Map III; Photo by L. BESTOCK)



Fig. 10 View looking southeast over debris of Block I: The southern wall of Block II is visible in the foreground and the perimeter wall in the background (Photo by L. BESTOCK)



Fig. 11 Looking east over Rooms 161 & 162 of Block VI: In the background is the large bastion-like feature on the eastern perimeter wall. The thin wall in the foreground does not appear in the published plan (D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, Map III; Photo by L. BESTOCK)



Fig. 12 Looking north over the area of the North Wing with the New Kingdom stone temple in the foreground: A bastion on the Northern Wing or Northern Spur Wall is visible in the background. The bottom of the river stair and quay are now beneath the alluvium visible in the right hand side of the picture (Photo by L. BESTOCK)



Fig. 13
Looking west at the debris of the New Kingdom Temple: The decorated block in the middle of the image is probably from the southern wall in the "South Room" of the temple (D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, Map VIIIC; Photo by L. BESTOCK)



Fig. 14
Looking east over the South Wing/Outer Enclosure: The mudbrick walls in the foreground belong to the so-called South Wing Inner Enclosure. At the back left are the remains of the South Wall of the Southern Wing. In the middle ground is the East Wall of the South Wing and behind it, one of the spoil heaps sampled by the current mission (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

into the stone (Fig. 12 and 13). Confirming the observations of WELSBY[16], the only parts of the Upper Fortress that have been lost due to the rise in water (and alluvium) levels are the bottom half of the river stair on the north-eastern side of the fortress along with the associated quay[17]; and the very northern end of the so-called northern spur wall[18]. Georectification of old imagery and further surveying work will provide precise details of these losses. Of great significance is the apparent complete survival of the so-called outer fortress, a walled precinct to the south of the main gate of the fort. Documentation here by the BMFA/Harvard mission was particularly brief and its nature is poorly understood (Fig. 14 and 15).

Moderate photographic documentation of the fortress was undertaken, but no surveying has yet taken place. Two preliminary observations about the architecture of the fort are of significance. First, two notably different brick recipes were used in construction, one a siltier, darker composition with fewer inclusions and the other a sandier fabric with the inclusion of substantial quantities of gravel and small rocks. Representative samples of bricks of both recipes were measured in only one area, but there does appear also to be a difference in size between these two types. The siltier bricks measured averaged 31–32 × 15–16 × 7–8 cm. Those of the sandier recipe were notably larger, averaging 33–34 × 16–17 × 10–

[16] D. WELSBY, in: *Sudan & Nubia* 8, 2004, pp. 103–104.

[17] D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, p. 20, Pl. XIIIC. The inscription from the quay dating to Year 19 of the reign of Senwosret III was removed and brought to the Khartoum Museum after the excavation, see *ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 30.



Fig. 15 Looking south over the southern end of the South Wing/Outer Fort: In the foreground is a pit cut in the ground and dressed on the southern and western sides with stone rubble (see D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, p. 11). In the background are Hills A and C (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

11 cm. Recording of the locations of these bricks has not yet been undertaken systematically, but this may prove to be a fruitful avenue of future research. On first appearance it seems that the siltier recipe was used first, with the sandier recipe introduced later. If this observation proves accurate, it may help us to unravel some aspects of the chronology of construction in the fortress. While the size difference might suggest that the chronological gap was large, there is not currently any reason to think that either is post-Middle Kingdom[19]. The second observation about the architecture that will be followed up in future seasons is an apparent inaccuracy in the published plan, particularly of the buildings outside the main walls to the northeast. This area includes the New Kingdom temple and some more enigmatic structures and will be important to our reconstruction of the post-Middle Kingdom history of the site. Other inaccuracies in the plan of minor walls within the fortress will also be corrected.

Dumps in the Outer Fortress

In addition to the fortress itself, the north of the ancient island is characterized by the remains of massive dumps. These certainly represent spoil from the WHEELER excavations but might also include ancient middens associated with the occupation of the fortress. Random surface sampling was undertaken in the area of the dumps with a view towards determining the date of the spoil and the types and densities of material remaining. Such sampling was necessary before we could determine how best to approach the dumps in future. They are so large that full-scale excavation would be logistically difficult.

The survey indentified four major dumps related to the Upper fortress (Fig. 16, areas A–D). The precise extent of each is not always clear, but their approximate bounds were surveyed.

Three of the dumps can in all likelihood be explained as spoil heaps from the excavation of the

[19] There was one area where larger bricks were noted, measuring 35–36 × 17 × 9–10 cm. However, this was on the north side of the stone temple, which itself dates to the New Kingdom. In that case it is probable that the larger brick size is later.

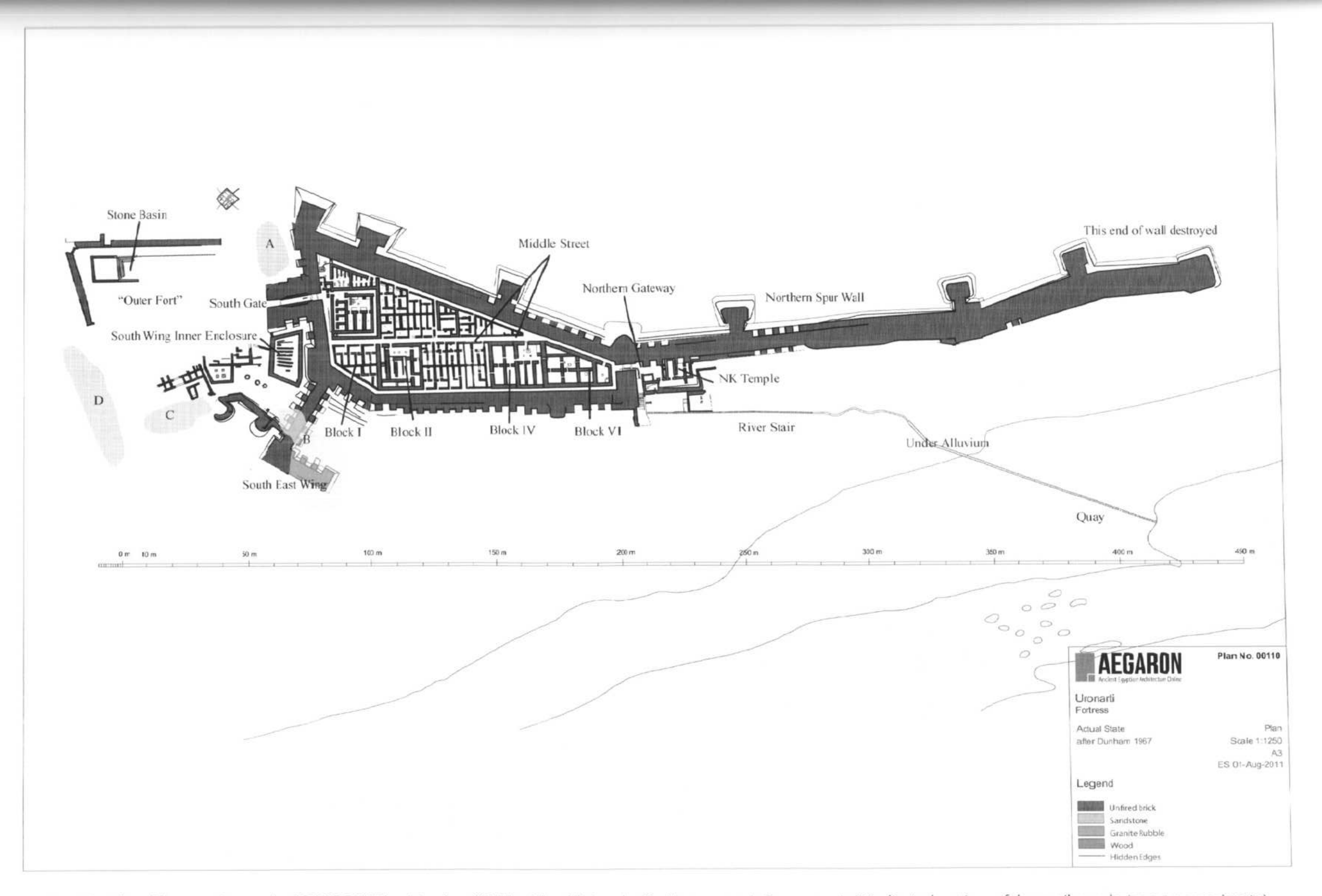


Fig. 16 Plan of fortress (Image by AEGARON [Plan Number 00110] with additions by CH. KNOBLAUCH): Grey areas A–D indicate locations of dumps (boundaries are approximate), A–C almost certainly represent WHEELER'S spoil heaps but D may be a midden original to the use of the fortress

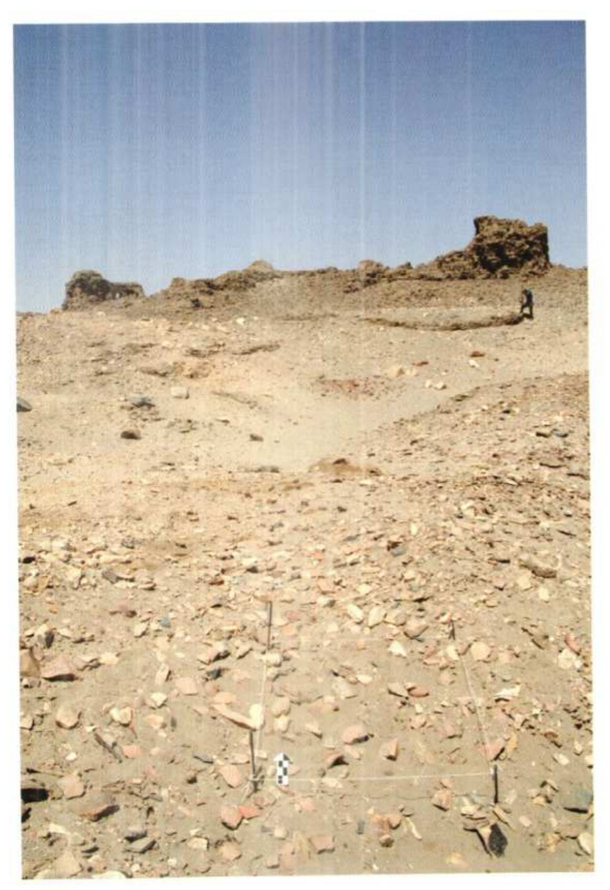


Fig. 17 Looking north over a spoil heap in the Southern Wing/Outer Fort towards the southern gateway of the fortress: A 1 × 1 m randomly selected sampling grid is the foreground (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

fortress by WHEELER. These were all in excavated areas that served as convenient locations for dumping once work in these areas had been completed. The final heap (Fig. 16, area D), located at the southern end of the outer fortress, appears to be in an area used by the population of the fortress as a formal refuse disposal area[20]. An extended deposit of material in the depression between Hill A and the fortress hill was noted first by BORCHARDT in 1900[21]. He observed a large quantity of Middle Kingdom to Late-Roman sherds and posited the existence of a settlement beneath the remains. WHEELER recorded a large sherd scatter between Hill A and the fortress hill in his plan of the island survey in 1930[22]. In that sketch the area of potsherds covers a huge area at least as wide as the outer enclosure. In the final report he notes that the sherds were deposited in a ravine which crisscrossed the rock from east to west, and that there was nothing beneath the sherds[23]. This location is downwind of the fortress.

The three modern dumps were chosen to have a single randomly placed 1 × 1 m surface area collected for analysis (Fig. 17). It was originally intended to do further random sampling, however the density of material and the need to complete the analysis of the pottery within a short season rendered this impossible. In total, these 3 square meters of surface produced 238 sherds of pottery weighing 13.81 kg, as well as three unfired mud jar stoppers (see Tables 1–6 below for breakdown of each sample by fabric, and Table 7 for a list of all diagnostic pieces drawn[24]). This density of material confirms the visual impression that the spoil heaps from WHEELER's excavations contained a great deal more archaeological material than reported in the find registers of the final publication. This forces us to address the serious problem that we have no idea on what basis WHEELER decided to record some finds and ignore others.

The analysis of the pottery from the three spoil heaps provides a reasonable insight into what can be

Tab. 1 Summary of Pottery Sample URAP 00001

Sherds	N.-Diag.	Diag.	Diag. %	Weight
30	24	6	20	1,85 kg

Tab. 2 Pottery Sample URAP 0001 by Fabric

Fabric	Nr. Sherds	% of Sample	Weight (kg)	% of sample
Nile B 1	5	16,67	0,05	2,70
Nile B2	4	13,33	0,13	7,03
Nile B2/C	15	50,00	1,5	81,08
Nile C	4	13,33	0,07	3,78
Nile D	0	0,00	0	0,00
Marl A	0	0,00	0	0,00
Marl C	2	6,67	0,1	5,41
Total	30	100	1,85	100

20 I. e. D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, p. 11.
21 L. BORCHARDT, *Altägyptische Festungen*, p. 12.
22 N. WHEELER, *27th February, 1930*, in: *Diary 1929–30*.
23 D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, p. 11.
24 Key to abbreviations for Tabs. 1–10: N.-Diag = Number of non-diagnostic sherds collected; Diag. = Number of Diagnostic Sherds Collected; Diag. % = Diagnostic sherds collected as a percentage of the overall sherd count; Weight = Weight of all (diagnostic and non-diagnostic) sherds; RD = Rim Diameter; Surface = Surface Treatment; Trad. = Potting Tradition (MK = Middle Kingdom, MMK = Mid 12th Dynasty, LMK = Late Middle Kingdom (roughly Senwosret III onwards), SIP = Second Intermediate Period, NK = New Kingdom).

Tab. 3 Summary of Pottery Sample URAP 00002

Sherds	N.-Diag.	Diag.	Diag. %	Weight
79	66	13	16,5	4,21 kg

Tab. 4 Pottery Sample URAP 00002 by Fabric

Fabric	Nr. Sherds	% of Sample	Weight (kg)	% of sample
Nile B1	10	15,63	0,05	1,56
Nile B2	2	3,13	0,03	0,94
Nile B2/C	6	9,38	0,15	4,69
Nile C	40	62,50	2,43	75,94
Marl A	1	1,56	0,02	0,63
Marl C	5	7,81	0,52	16,25
Total	64	100,00	3,2	100

Tab. 5 Summary of Pottery Sample URAP 00003

Sherds	N.-Diag.	Diag.	Diag. %	Weight
129	98	31	24	7,75 kg

Tab. 6 Pottery Sample URAP 00003 by Fabric

Fabric	Nr. Sherds	% of Sample	Weight (kg)	% of Sample
Nile B 1	28	27,45	0,39	6,55
Nile B2	7	6,86	0,66	11,09
Nile B2/C	2	1,96	0,06	1,01
Nile C	53	51,96	4,47	75,13
Nile D	4	3,92	0,12	2,02
Marl A	1	0,98	0,02	0,34
Marl C	5	4,90	0,2	3,36
Nubian	1	0,98	0,01	0,17
Levantine	1	0,98	0,02	0,34
Total	102	100,00	5,95	100,00

expected from the dumps in the outer fortress as we did not purposively sample what was interesting to us, but did a complete analysis of all the sherd material found on the surface in a randomly selected unit (Drawings of the diagnostic sherds from these units can be seen in Figs. 18–20[25]). The first impression based on this analysis is that the material is typical for an assemblage of the late Middle Kingdom in terms of fabrics, wares and shapes. Little material that obviously dates earlier or later than this was recorded. Of the diagnostics almost 100 % can be dated with some certainty to the Middle Kingdom tradition particularly prevalent in contexts dating to the reign of Senwosret III and afterwards (LMK in Tab. 7). The most common fabric and ware across all three samples is coarse Nile B2–C fabric comprising between 60–85 % of the samples depending on the method of quantification. Fine silt wares and Marl clay vessels and a small number of Nubian and imported sherds make up the remainder. Micaceous slipped pottery, a characteristic ware produced in the fortresses of the Second Cataract[26], is a rare but constant component of all samples (around 1 %). It is always produced in fine Nile B1 or B2. Of the marls, sherds of coarse Marl C vessels transported from Lower Egypt are more common than sherds of the Upper Egyptian Marl A in all the samples. Only a single non-diagnostic Nubian sherd was amongst the sherd material from the samples, but Middle Nubian material (mostly Pan Grave and Kerman) could be observed at many places of the spoil heaps that were not sampled. A single handle from a Levantine jug was recorded in one of our samples (Fig. 20, P12/24). The functional spectrum of vessels is what one would expect for a settlement site, namely vessels for the production, consumption and transport/storage of food and liquids. Pottery stands appear to be represented in particularly large numbers.

Site FC

Moving to the south of the fortress, the next site encountered in the pedestrian survey is site FC. The site lies 230 m to the south of the southern gate of the Upper Fortress and 150 m south of the lower end of the Outer Fort with which it had direct lines of sight (Fig. 21). It is to the west of the southern end of Hill A from which, at times of low water, it is separated by some flat modern alluvium (Fig. 22). Previous to the completion of the dam at Aswan, this area of alluvium was a sandy valley that ran between the eastern foot of Hills A and C and the ridge on which Site FC sits, connecting the northern and southern parts of the is-

[25] Key to abbreviations for Figs. 18–20, 24, 29, 34: MS = Micaceous Slip; RS = Red Slip; WS = White Slip; RD = Rim Diameter; BD = Base Diameter; % = % of rim/base diameter preserved; P12/ = drawing number.

[26] Ch. Knoblauch, *Not all that Glitters: A Case Study of Regional Aspects of Egyptian Middle Kingdom Pottery Production in Lower Nubia and the Second Cataract*, in: *CCE* 9, 2011, pp. 167–183.

Tab. 7 Overview of sherds illustrated in Figs. 18–20 (Number = Drawing Number, Fabric is according to the Vienna system)

Number	Fabric	RD	Surface	Type/Parallels	Trad.
P12/3	Nile B2	10 cm; 8%	Red slip on interior and exterior.	Perhaps a bowl[27], or lid[28]	LMK
P12/13	Nile B2/C	6 cm; 12%	Plain, coarse	Bread Mould	MK
P12/1	Nile B2/C	3 cm; 25%	Plain, coarse	Bread Mould	MK
P12/5	Nile B2/C	20 cm; 20%	Plain, coarse	Either a tall stand[29], or a ringstand[30]	MK
P12/4	Marl C	20–30 cm; 5%	Plain, smoothed	*Zir*[31]	LMK
URAP 0002					
P12/11	Nile B1	17 cm; 10%	Micaceous Slip	Large ring stand (perhaps upside down?)	LMK
P12/7	Nile B1	12 cm; 20%	Red slip on rim	"Hemispherical Cup"	LMK
P12/9	Nile B1	9 cm; 9%	Red slip on exterior		
P12/8	Nile B2	22 cm	White slip on rim	Bowl,	SIP?
P12/6	Nile B2/C	13 cm; 25%	Red slip on exterior	"Beer Jar" rim[32]	LMK
URAP 0003					
P12/23	Nile B1	10 cm; 5%	Red slip on exterior, two intentional (?) horizontal lines, 1 plastic knob	Dahshur[33]; Tell el-Daba[34]; Askut[35]; Uronarti[36]	LMK
P12/19	Nile B1	8 cm; 20%	Very finely smoothed, uncoated	Ring stand rim? Tell el-Daba[37]; Abydos[38]	LMK
P12/16	Nile B2	8.5 cm	Wet smoothed	Beaker? Too little preserved	MK–NK
P12/15	Nile B2	24 cm; 12%	Wet smoothed, red slip interior and exterior, incised decoration	Abydos[39]	LMK
P12/14	Nile B2	7 cm; 25%	Wet smoothed	Jar: More common in Marl[40]	
P12/22	Nile C	11 cm; 17%	Wet smoothed, very light indent on inside of rim	Jar: Lisht[41]; Thebes[42]	LMK
P12/17	Nile C	17 cm; 16%	Wet smoothed, scraped near base	Pot Stand	LMK
P12/17a	Nile C	8 cm; 50%	Eroded		MK–NK
P12/20	Nile C	17 cm; 50%	Wet smoothed	Stand	
P12/21	Nile C	–	Rough wet smoothed	Jar: Abydos[43]; Tell el-Daba[44]; Uronarti[45]	LMK
P12/12	Nile E	18 cm; 20%	Wet smoothed	Cooking pot[46]	MMK–LMK
P12/13	Marl C	10 cm; 35%	Wet smoothed	Comprehensive literature in BADER[47]. See also Abydos[48] and Askut[49]	MMK–LMK

[27] R. SCHIESTL/A. SEILER, *Handbook of the Pottery of the Middle Kingdom* I. *The Corpus Volume*, *DÖAW* 72. *Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean* 31, Vienna 2012, pp. 126–127 (hereafter R. SCHIESTL/A. SEILER, *Handbook* I), I.C.3.a – examples from many sites incl. Elephantine and Askut.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 797–798.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 831, III.M2.a.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 822:16, III.M1.d.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 592–595, II.E.13.d.

[32] *Ibid.*, II.H.3.b.1 Beer Bottles, Class 3b.

[33] DO. ARNOLD, *Keramikbearbeitung in Dahschur 1976–1981*, in: *MDAIK* 38, 1982, p. 34:8, larger red slip, Nile C.

[34] D. ASTON, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XII. *A Corpus of Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Pottery*, *UZK* 23, Vienna 2004, Pl. 34–35 (hereafter D. ASTON, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XII), larger open vessels with knobs and incised lines, Nile B2–C uncoated; E. CZERNY, *Tell el-Dabʿa* IX. *Eine Plansiedlung des frühen Mittleren Reiches*, *UZK* 15, Vienna 1999 (hereafter E. CZERNY, *Tell el-Dabʿa* IX).

[35] S. T. SMITH, *Pottery from Askut and the Nubian Forts*, in: R. SCHIESTL/A. SEILER, *Handbook* II, Fig. 3 E, knob higher on body (hereafter S. T. SMITH, in: R. SCHIESTL/A. SEILER, *Handbook* II).

[36] D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, p. 181, Pl. XIX:29.1.261, knob on rim.

[37] D. ASTON, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XII, Group 171b, pp. 175–176, Pl. 188:695.

[38] J. WEGNER, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, *Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Institute of Fine Arts Expedition to Egypt* 8, New Haven/Philadelphia 2007, p. 249, Fig. 102:72 (hereafter J. WEGNER, *Senwosret III*).

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 235, Fig. 99:23, p. 274, Fig. 123:79–80, wider rim diameter.

[40] Cf. DO. ARNOLD, *Pottery*, in: DI. ARNOLD, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, *PMMA* 22, New York 1988, p. 134, Fig. 74:183, p. 184 (hereafter DO. ARNOLD, in: *PMMA* 22, New York 1988).

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 132, Fig. 71:47, p. 127.

[42] A. SEILER, *Tradition & Wandel. Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, *SDAIK* 32, Mainz 2005, Abb. 25:7N 01/891 (hereafter A. SEILER, *Tradition & Wandel*).

[43] J. WEGNER, *op. cit.*, p. 244, Fig. 102:44.

[44] D. ASTON, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XII.

[45] D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, p. 182, Pl. III:28.11.355.

[46] R. SCHIESTL/A. SEILER, *Handbook* I, pp. 737–740.

[47] B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XIII. *Typologie und Chronologie der Mergel C-Ton Keramik. Materialien zum Binnenhandel des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, *UZK* 19, Vienna 2001, pp. 129–131, Type 46 (hereafter B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XIII).

[48] J. WEGNER, *op. cit.*, Fig. 117:168.

[49] S. T. SMITH, in: R. SCHIESTL/A. SEILER, *Handbook* II, Fig. 11 C & E.

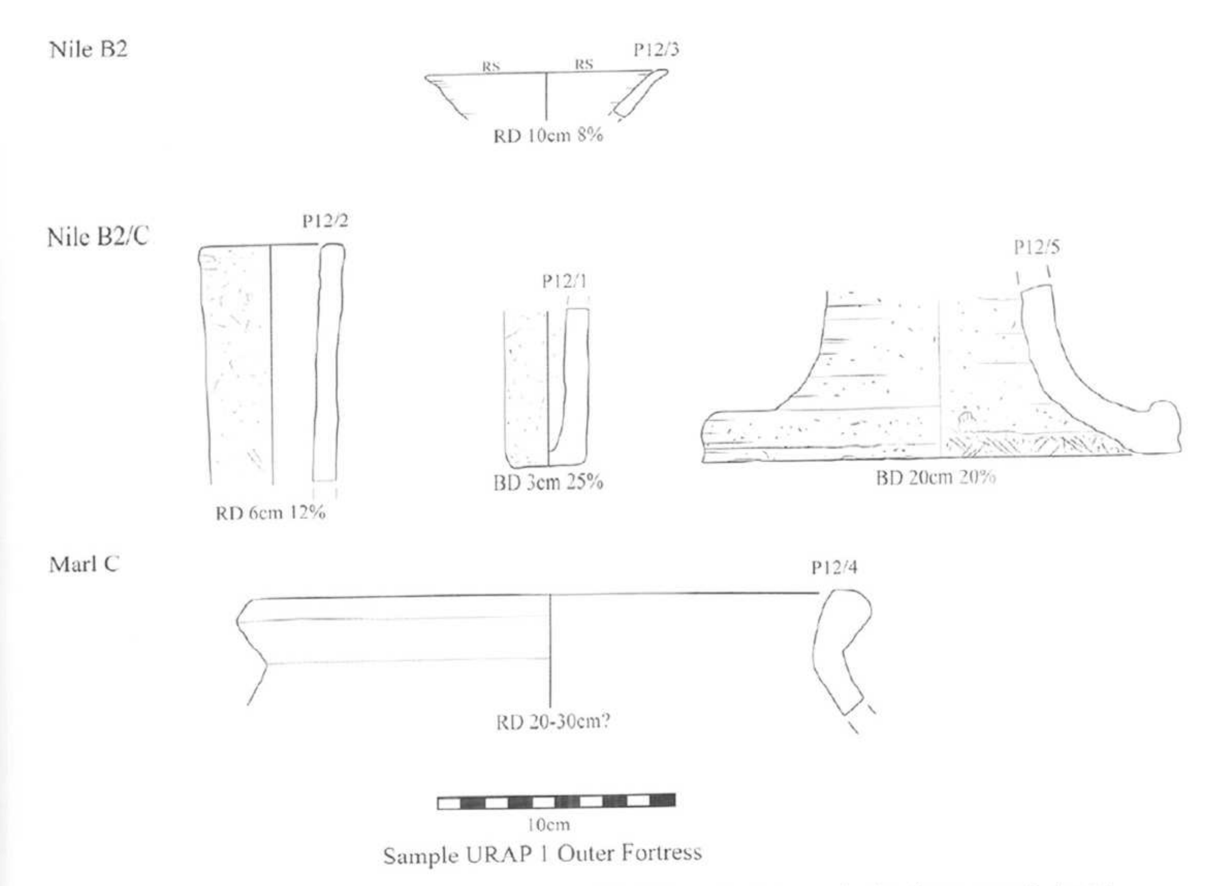


Fig. 18 Diagnostic Pottery from Sample URAP 00001 (Outer Fort), Image by CH. KNOBLAUCH/S. ALLEN

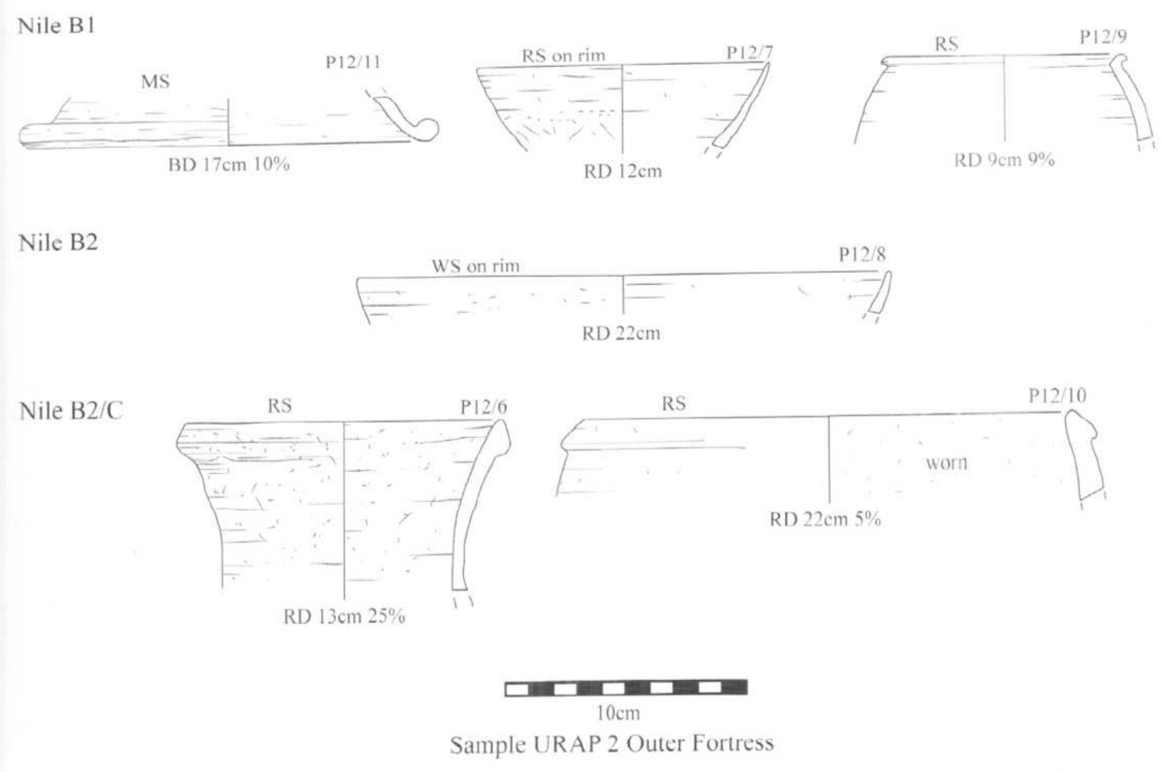


Fig. 19 Diagnostic Pottery from Sample URAP 00002 (Outer Fort), Image by CH. KNOBLAUCH/S. ALLEN

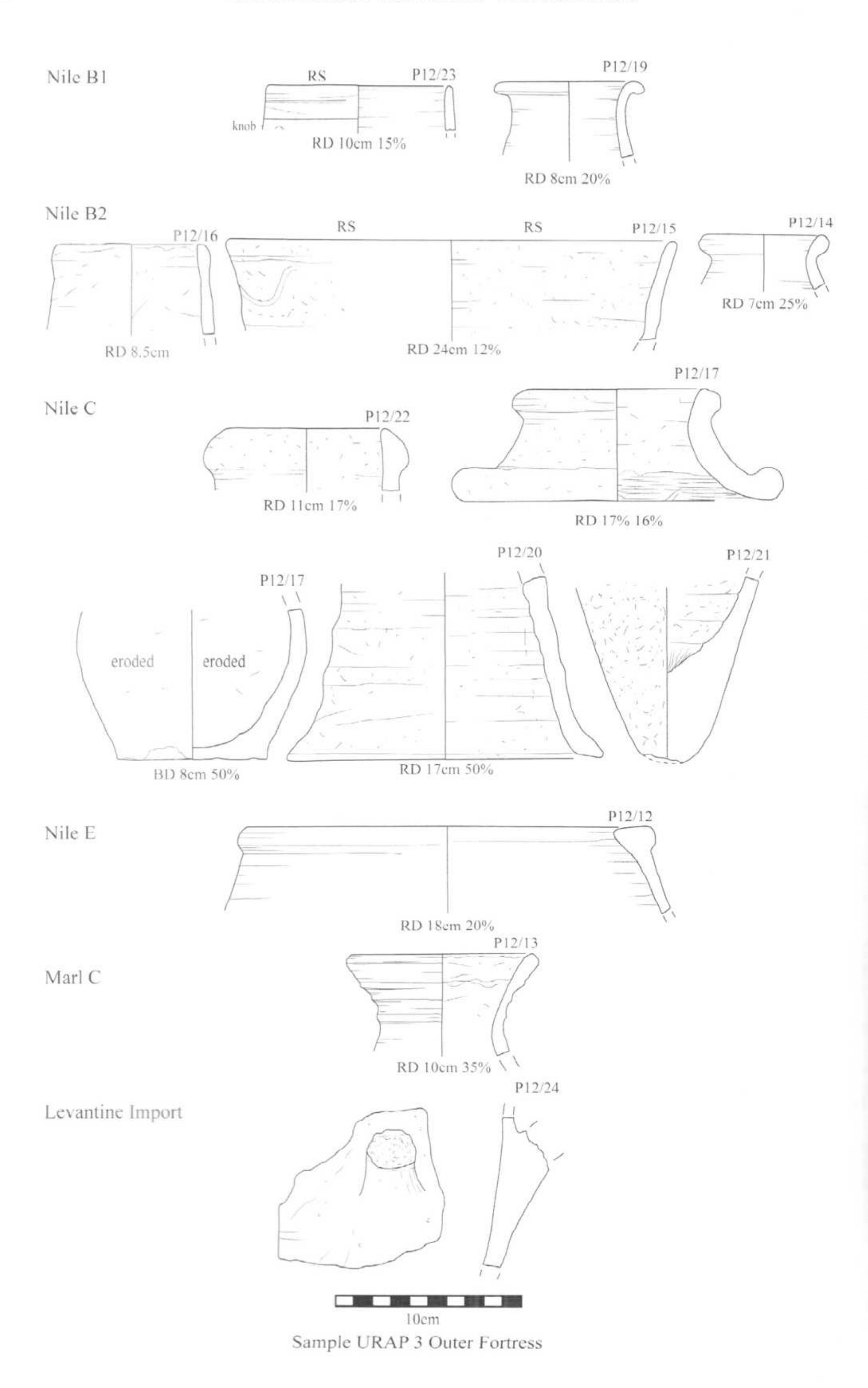


Fig. 20 Diagnostic Pottery from Sample URAP 00003 (Outer Fort), Image by CH. KNOBLAUCH/S. ALLEN

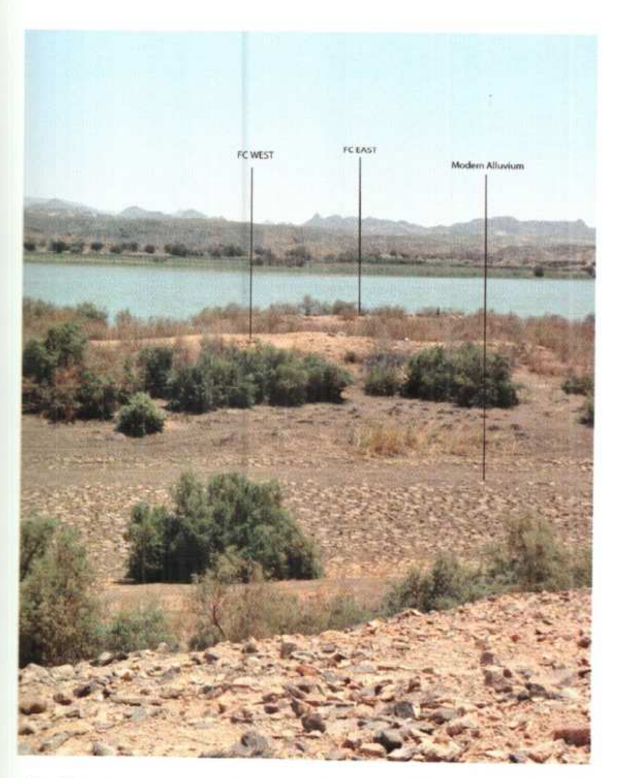


Fig. 21 View eastwards towards Sites FC East and FC West from Hill A (Photo by CH. KNOBLAUCH)

land[50]. To the west of site FC, the terrain drops steeply to the high river mark. The modern site is formed by two north south oriented flattish hillocks, separated by a shallow depression. Combined they have a total surface area of 2055 m². The eastern of these was given the site name FC East, and the westernmost FC West. It is probable that the thin layer of modern alluvium and scrub between the two hillocks obscures the uninterrupted continuation of archaeological material from one hill to the other, therefore the division into two sites is somewhat artificial. The highest points of site FC are only 186 m asl, that is 2 m above the maximum water level. Hence, at times of high water, Site FC becomes two small seasonal islands and archaeological remains on the lowest slopes are submerged. Furthermore, dense scrub on all flanks of the hillocks makes it too difficult to trace the limits of the ancient site and it is conceivable that it was not exclusively limited to the hill tops. There is no reference to work having taken place here before. The low diagnostic to non-diagnostic sherd ratio observed in the ceramic analysis may point to previous collection of artefacts at the site (see below) but it could also be the result of extreme erosion caused through deflation and exposure.



Fig. 22 View northwards from Site FC towards fortress (Photo by CH. KNOBLAUCH)

[50] P. SHINNIE, in: *Kush* 3, 1955, p. XIV.



Fig. 23
A typical stone built structure from Site FC East (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

The visible surface remains of architecture in the FC sites consist entirely of remnants of dry-stone walls of apparently irregularly shaped small rooms (Fig. 22, 23). In some cases these rooms were free-standing; in others they cluster together. None of the stones of the walls remain carefully placed on one another, and the general current impression is of rather messy small rings of flat stones. These can be difficult to trace with certainty, and even once we knew what we were looking for we continued to find additional rooms over the course of several days. Most rooms had one larger boulder at some point in their walls. It is not clear if the stones found represent the bottom courses of walls that would have been built higher in other materials, such as brick or wood; if there were originally higher stone walls; or if these were emplacements for less permanent structures such as tents. In no case is a doorway obvious. At FC East we observed the remains of six clear freestanding rooms, two possible further freestanding rooms, and in the north of the site a cluster of four rooms that shared walls. At FC West we observed the clear remains of seven free-standing rooms, two probable additional freestanding rooms, two possible additional rooms, one free-standing circle of stones that was so small it could not have represented a dwelling but might still be a man-made structure, and a cluster of four rooms with adjoining walls towards the southwest of the site. The total number of certain rooms is thus 21, with a probable total closer to 25. Rough measurements were taken by hand on north-south and east-west axes of the exterior of each room. Most rooms were between 2.5 and 3.5 m in each direction. The smallest of the rooms, aside from that noted above as being anomalous, measured 2.10 × 3 m. The largest was roughly circular and measured 4 m in diameter. Because they are poorly preserved it is impossible to be certain that the current size and shape of any given room is indicative of its original state.

The cultural attribution and date of the site were ascertained through a collection and examination of all pottery sherds found on the surface of site FC. Only sherds lying directly on the surface were removed. These were collected separately by site and by room.

Tab. 8 Summary of Pottery from Site FC (East and West)

Sherds	Diag.	N-Diag.	Diag. %	Weight
410	13 (24)[51]	387	3,17	30,66 kg

A total of 410 pottery sherds were collected from Site FC. The weight of the sherd mass was 30.66 kg. Twenty-six of the total number of pottery sherds (1.1 kg) were too eroded to be included in the analysis, so the final quantity of sherds used in the analysis comprises 384 sherds weighing 29.56 kg. The sherds are primarily non-diagnostic (over 95 % by sherd count), with only a very small number of diagnostic/drawable sherds identified (Fig. 24).

A thorough documentation of the fabric and wares of the body sherds as well as a review of the diagnostic pieces demonstrate that the entire surface

[51] 24 diagnostic sherds in total were collected, but these represent only 13 separate vessels.

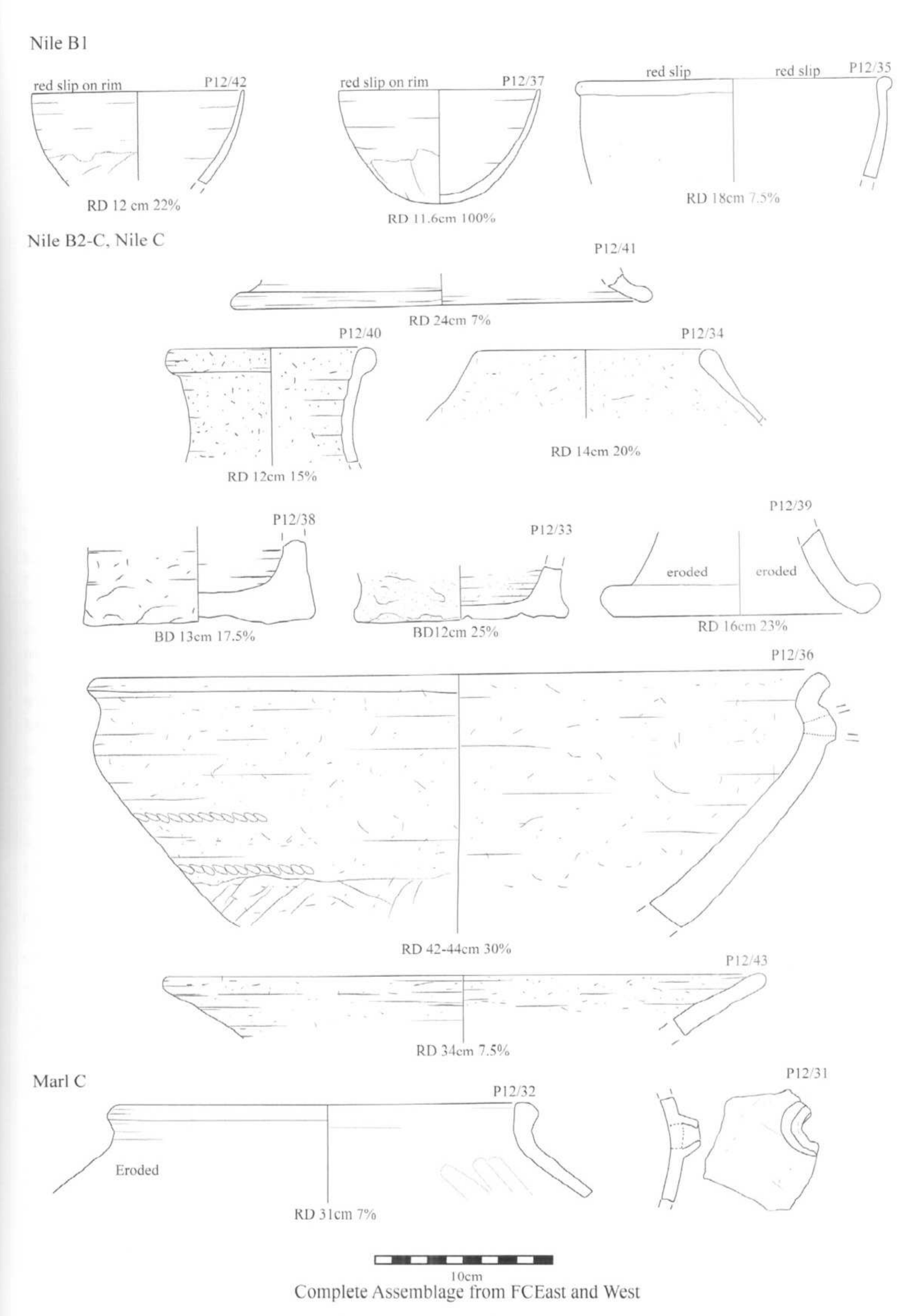


Fig. 24 Diagnostic Pottery from Site FC (East and West), Image by CH. KNOBLAUCH/S. ALLEN

Tab. 9 Pottery from Site FC (East and West) by Fabric

	FC EAST				FC WEST			
Fabric	Sherds	%	Weight (kg)	%	Sherds	%	Weight (kg)	%
Nile B1	5	3,82	0,06	0,69	18	7,11	0,3	1,47
Nile B2	12	9,16	1,11	12,80	2	0,79	0,24	1,17
Nile B2–C	70	53,44	5,61	64,71	134	52,96	15,08	73,74
Marl A3	9	6,87	0,16	1,85	13	5,14	0,9	4,40
Marl C	35	26,72	1,73	19,95	86	33,99	3,93	19,22
Total	131	100,00	8,67	100,00	253	100,00	20,45	100,00

assemblage of Site FC (both East and West) can be assigned to the ceramics tradition of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom. It includes a typically Middle Kingdom combination of fabric and wares: the silt fabrics and wares typical for the 12th–13th Dynasties (Nile B1, Nile B2 and Nile C, see Tab. 9) combined with plain and/or red surfaces, wet smoothed bodies and scraped and/or hand-cut bases as well as hand-made vessel fragments made of both Marl A3 and Marl C. Coarse silt wares, predominantly used for large closed forms, such as jars/beer jars, comprise the majority of pottery on both sites (Nile B2–C). This is followed in frequency by sherds of Marl C belonging to large storage/transport jars. Interestingly, no certainly identifiable cooking pots or bread moulds are represented amongst the surface collection.

In Fig. 24 all the thirteen individual diagnostic pieces from Sites FC East and West are illustrated. As is made clear by the following analysis of these pieces, the material contains some features which arguably allow us to date the entire assemblage to the second half of the 12th Dynasty. However, neither the quality nor quantity of the material is sufficient for the purpose of determining when precisely the site was first occupied, and for how long it remained so. While the meager corpus does not appear to display any features which would warrant arguing strongly for an occupation into the 13th dynasty, this issue can probably only be resolved through future excavation in conjunction with the application of scientific dating methods. The graphic representation of the context and the discussion thereof is according to fabrics of the Vienna System as defined by NORDSTRÖM and BOURRIAU[52].

Nile B1

Sherds made of Nile B1 make up only a very minor percentage the sherds collected from the surface of FC East and West and only three diagnostics made of this fabric were found. Two of these (P12/42 & P12/37) belong to the class of small rounded bottomed cups known in the literature as "hemispherical cups"/*Näpfe*. The form is one of the standard types of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom pottery corpus and one that is found at all Middle Kingdom sites[53]. Both vessels from Site FC were made on the wheel, have a hand trimmed base and bear a thin band of red paint on their rims. Hence in terms of decoration, they can be compared to the class of cups that came into vogue after the reign of Senwosret I and that were particularly characteristic of contexts of the advanced Middle Kingdom[54]. When we turn to the shape, it can be noted that both vessels were relatively shallow, with a rim diameter of around 11.6 cm and a height of 6.2 cm (Vessel Index 186 = Diameter/Height*100). Such shallow vessels are typical for the second half of the 12th Dynasty, but are rare in archaeological contexts dating to after the end of the 12th Dynasty[55]. The third diagnostic sherd from site FC made of Nile B1 fabric (UP12/35) is a red-slipped, modeled rim that probably belongs to a type of footed basin typical for the sec-

52 H.-Å. NORDSTRÖM/J. BOURRIAU, *Ceramic Technology*, pp. 143–190.

53 Cf. DO. ARNOLD, in: *MDAIK* 38; EAD., in: *PMMA* 22, New York 1988; D. ASTON, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XII, pp. 62–64; B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XIX. *Auaris und Memphis im Mittleren Reich und in der Hyksoszeit. Vergleichsanalyse der materiellen Kultur, UZK* 31, Vienna 2009, pp. 149–159 (hereafter B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XIX); J. BOURRIAU/ST. QUIRKE, *The Late Middle Kingdom Ceramic Repertoire in Word and Object*, in: ST. QUIRKE (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, Reigate 1998, pp. 73–81; K. KOPETZKY, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XX. *Die Chronologie der Siedlungskeramik der Zweiten Zwischenzeit aus Tell el-Dabʿa, UZK* 32, Vienna 2010, pp. 61–63 (hereafter K. KOPETZKY, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XX).

54 Cf. DO. ARNOLD, in: *MDAIK* 38; EAD., in: *PMMA* 22, New York 1988, pp. 140–141.

55 DO. ARNOLD, in: *PMMA* 22, New York 1988, Fig. 75; R. SCHIESTL, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XVIII. *Die Palastnekropole von Tell el-Dabʿa. Die Gräber des Areals F/I der Straten d/2 and d/1, UZK* 30, Vienna 2009, p. 129, Tabelle 18; J. WEGNER, *Senwosret III*, p. 233, Type 1.

ond half of the 12th – early 13th Dynasty. Comparable pieces have been found at Memphis and Tell el-Daba[56], Harageh[57], the temple and tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos[58] and at Elephantine in "Bauschicht 14–15" (H94)[59]. A parallel without a slip but of Nile B1 was found at the fortress of Askut in room 5a[60].

Nile B2 near C[61]

This fabric is the most common at sites FC East and West, probably due to its association with the typical beer jars/water jars of the Middle Kingdom[62], from which many of the body sherds appear to derive. Despite the common occurrence of such non-diagnostic sherds all over the surface of the site, only one diagnostic rim belonging to this vessel type was found (P12/4). In terms of the morphological development of these vessels in the mid to advanced Middle Kingdom[63], the rim from site FC appears to occupy the middle ground between types with splayed neck and angular modeled rim of the mid to late 12th Dynasty, and the types with cylindrical neck and so-called "kettle-shaped" aperture of the early to mid 13th Dynasty[64].

The other diagnostics belonging to closed vessel shapes in the same fabric as the last were a badly eroded restricted rim (P12/34) and two poorly preserved bases (P12/38 & P12/33). The former is difficult to place (perhaps the rim of a cooking pot or a inward beaker?), and of the latter two, so little is preserved that no definitive comments are possible: flat-based beakers and jars are certainly a typical component of the classic Middle Kingdom corpus[65], but whether the bases from Site FC come from similar vessels to these or other flat-based types such as stands, is impossible to gauge.

Diagnostics belonging to three different open vessels in Nile B2/C1 were collected from the surface of Site FC (P12/41, P12/36, P12/43), but only two of these are well preserved enough to provide the basis for further discussion. P12/36 is a large, deep, spouted bowl with everted rim and S-shaped wall profile. The upper part of the vessel shows horizontal wheel turning marks, whereas the base was coarsely scraped. Rope marks from the drying process are deeply impressed into the vessel surface. Large spouted open shapes from the mid to late 12th Dynasty are more usually made in Marl C fabric and differ in certain traits such as rim type and carination[66]. Such vessels are thought to have been utilised in beer production[67]. Vessels of coarse silt with similar profiles (but no spouts) were found in the early Middle Kingdom settlement at area F/I at Tell el-Daba[68]. The other open vessel (P12/43) is a large bowl with direct rim which is a characteristic form of the Middle Kingdom corpus[69].

Marl A

Sherds of vessels made of the Upper Egyptian Marl A3 fabric represent a rare, but constant presence in the sherd collection from Site FC (between 1 and 7 % percent depending on the quantification method). No sherds that provide information concerning vessel form were recovered.

Marl C

Sherds of Marl C vessels were common at site FC East and West comprising circa 20 % of the entire sherd mass from the two sites. This material was produced in the Memphite area[70] and hence at Uronarti represents imported vessels; this result is hardly surprising given the prevalence of Marl C vessels on all sites founded and occupied by the Egyptian state during the Middle Kingdom. Nor should it be forgotten that the sherds are invariably hard and hence well preserved, and that they originally derived from large

56 Nile B2/C1, RD: 16–23 cm; B. Bader, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIX, Type 29e1, see pp. 289–291, Abb. 177: 29E1.

57 R. Engelbach, *Harageh*, *BSAE* 28, London 1923, Pl. XXXIV: 12Q-S.

58 Nile B2, RD: 15–22 cm; cf. J. Wegner, *Senwosret III*, p. 241, Fig. 101, Type 29.

59 C. von Pilgrim, *Elephantine* XVIII. *Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, *AV* 91, Mainz 1996, Abb. 159k (hereafter C. von Pilgrim, *Elephantine* XVIII).

60 S. T. Smith, *Askut in Nubia. The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C*, *Studies in Egyptology*, London 1995, Fig. 3.5g.

61 Do. Arnold, in: *PMMA* 22, New York 1988, p. 126.

62 D. Aston, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XII, pp. 82–83; A. Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel*, pp. 112–113; J. Wegner, *Senwosret III*, p. 245.

63 Do. Arnold, in: *PMMA* 22, New York 1988, pp. 141–143; D. Aston, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XII, pp. 82–83.

64 I. e. B. Bader, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIX, Abb. 47 K3002 rel. Str. d/1 (-c), Abb. 213; A. Seiler, *Tradition & Wandel*, p. 73, Abb. 26 DAN 2.

65 R. Engelbach, *Harageh*, *BSAE* 28, London 1923, Pl. XXXIX–XL; C. von Pilgrim, *Elephantine* XVIII, p. 333, Abb. 147b–c; J. Wegner, *Senwosret III*, p. 242, Fig. 102 Type 38.

66 I. e. J. Bourriau/St. Quirke, *The Late Middle Kingdom Ceramic Repertoire in Word and Object*, in: St. Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, Reigate 1998, p. 67, Fig. 5E, pp. 70–71.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

68 E. Czerny, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* IX, p. 83, p. 171, Ng. 88–89, see now R. Schiestl/A. Seiler, *Handbook* I, pp. 346–347, I.G.10.

69 I. e. B. Bader, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIX, Abb. 42 I-C-2, Schüsseln: K3002 rel. Str. d/1 (-c).

70 B. Bader, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIII.

vessels that when broken, produced a significantly larger number of sherds than smaller vessels made in other fabrics. As such, the heavy representation of Marl C sherds amongst recovered ceramics from site FC may not be indicative of the original relative frequency of Marl C vessels.

Two diagnostic sherds belonging to vessels made of Marl C were recovered from the surface of Site FC East and West. The first of these (P12/32) is a fragment belonging to a wide, thickened rim of a large storage/transport vessel type commonly referred to in the literature as a *zir*[71]. *Zirs* have large volumes, flat bases and wide rims, confirming their function as the storage/transport jars par excellence[72]. While there is a wide and chronologically sensitive spectrum of the body morphology of these jars[73], determining the vessel morphology on the basis of the rim shape is problematic and is not attempted here[74]. P12/32 is clearly related to the *zir* rim types characteristic for the second half of the 12th Dynasty, taking an intermediate position between the rounded rims of the early to mid 12th Dynasty and the elongated, thinner rims of the 13th Dynasty and later (i. e. specifically KOPETZKY's rim type 3[75]). Similar, but by no means identical vessel rims are known from Dahshur (Komplex 6[76]), Qasr el-Sagha[77], Askut[78] and Mirgissa in contexts of the mid to late 12th dynasty[79].

The final diagnostic from Site FC to be discussed is a body sherd with short spout made from Marl C (P12/31). As at least three different vessel types with spouts were produced in Marl C fabric during the Middle Kingdom[80]; it follows that the sherd from Site FC could technically belong to any of these types. However, as our sherd appears to come from a large closed vessel, it is likely that it may be attributed to a spouted *zir* type found at various 12th–13th Dynasty sites such as Tell el-Daba[81], Dahshur[82] and Kahun[83]. This type of vessel is also known from the Middle Kingdom fortress at Askut[84] while a vessel of unknown fabric from Kerma may represent the southernmost example of this vessel type and proof of its export to Upper Nubia[85]. Although precise data is missing, the vessel type seems to appear in the second half of the 12th Dynasty and later, rather than the first half[86]: At Tell el-Daba, large jars with spouts occur in strata H-F that can be dated to the later 12th and 13th Dynasties[87].

Summing up these notes to the individual vessel types and their meaning for interpreting Site FC, it can be observed that the majority sits relatively comfortably in the second half of the 12th Dynasty. When precisely Site FC was first occupied should remain an open question to be answered through further work. Plausible hypothesis include settlement prior to the construction of the fortress (currently thought to be Year 16 of Senwosret III), concurrent with the first occupation of the fortress, or shortly thereafter. Similarly, the question of how long the site was occupied for (was it months, years or decades?), or whether it was occupied continuously or intermittently cannot be answered on current evidence. Nor is the precise relationship between the fortress and the stone village, and the purpose of the latter, immediately obvious. Very tentatively, it might be suggested, given the absence of bread moulds, that at least some prepared staple foods were being provided for the inhabitants of Site FC from elsewhere, probably the fortress. The only thing that seems sure is the Egyptian nature of the occupation: not a single Nubian sherd was found on the surface of the site. It is also clear that this was not a cemetery, as the recovered ceramics are typical of habitation sites rather than mortuary sites.

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71 *Loc. cit.*

72 *Ibid.*, pp. 155–158.

73 D. ASTON, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XII; B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIII, p. 157, Abb. 43; ID., *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIX, pp. 225–243.

74 Cf. B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIII, p. 161; ID., *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIX, p. 225, fn. 535.

75 K. KOPETZKY, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XX, pp. 165–166, Abb. 14, 39, 76, 113, 116; and BADER's Aperture Type 4, see B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIX, pp. 225–226, Abb. 142; also ID., *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIII, pp. 161–162, Abb. 45a–c ("Typ 57C").

76 DO. ARNOLD, in: *MDAIK* 38, Abb. 8.5; S. ALLEN, *Queen's Ware: Royal Funerary Pottery in the Middle Kingdom*, in: C. J. EYRE (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995, OLA* 82, Leuven 1998, p. 45, Fig. 3:9.

77 J. ŚLIWA, *Qasr el-Sagha*, in: *Fontes Archaeologic Posnonienses* 36, 1987/1988, Fig. 34.

78 S. T. SMITH, in: R. SCHIESTL/A. SEILER, *Handbook* II, Fig. 11b.

79 A. VILA, *Un rituel d'envoûtement au Moyen Empire Égyptien*, in: M. SAUTER (ed.), *L'Homme, hier et aujourd'hui. Recueil d'études en hommage à André Leroi-Gourhan*, Paris 1973, pp. 625–639.

80 B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIII, pp. 152–155, Abb. 41–42 "Typ 54–56".

81 "Typ 54" in B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIII, pp. 152–154, Abb. 41j–k, Abb. 42a; also published in D. ASTON, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XII, Pl. 78:223–225 as "Group 69".

82 DO. ARNOLD, in: *MDAIK* 38, p. 63, Abb. 19 nr. 10.

83 C. GALLORINI, *Incised Marks on Pottery and Other Objects from Kahun*, in: B. HARING/O. KAPER (eds.), *Pictograms or Pseudo Script. Non-Textual Identity Marks in Practical Use in Ancient Egypt and Elsewhere*, *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 25, Leuven 2009, Fig. 1:8.

84 S. T. SMITH, in: R. SCHIESTL/A. SEILER, *Handbook* II, Fig. 11d.

85 D. DUNHAM, *Excavations at Kerma* VI. *Subsidiary Nubian Graves, excavated by the late G. A. Reisner in 1915–1916*, Boston 1982, p. 252: Type CXX.

86 Compare the parallels in B. BADER, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XIII, p. 152.

87 D. ASTON, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XII, p. 102.

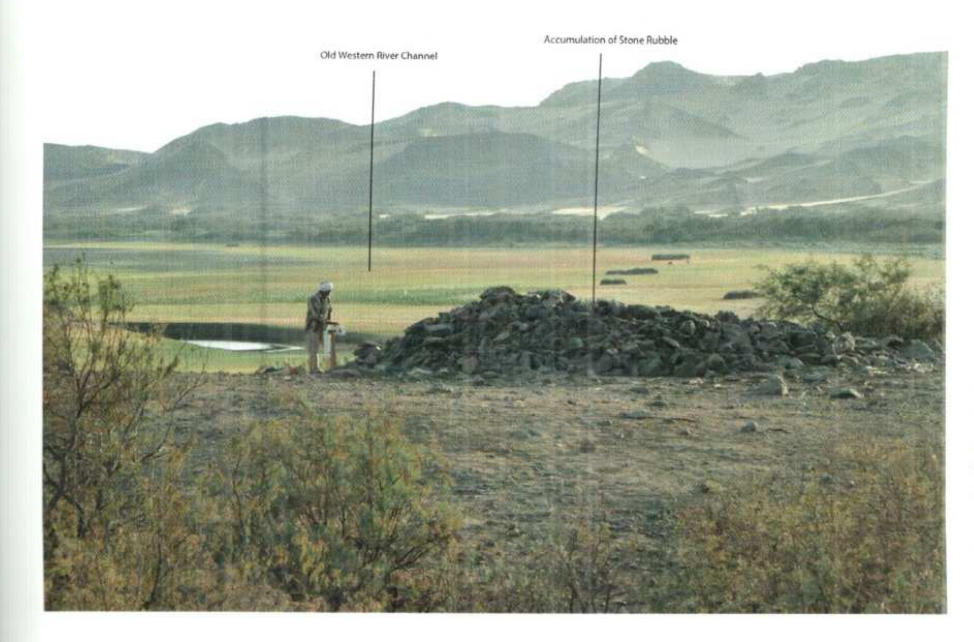


Fig. 25
View westwards over flat southern shoulder of Hill C towards the western side of the valley during the magnetometry survey of the area: The stone tumulus is in the middle of the image (Photo by CH. KNOBLAUCH)

Sites on Hills A and C

A large pile of stones was identified on a small flat shoulder at the southern end of Hill C (Fig. 2 for location) overlooking the saddle between Hills C and G. The tumulus consists of unbonded (loose) granite boulders in a vague pile ca. 8 × 4 m and over 1 m in height (Fig. 25). The site was probably identified by WHEELER[88]. Remains of another structure made of stone (perhaps a hut?) lie a short distance to the northwest of this. No artifacts were found associated with either feature and their archaeological significance is unclear. On the northwest slope of Hill C was a rectangular area the approximate size of most stone huts that had been cleared of stones. Substantial traces of mud were found within this rectangle, though no traces of brick. This is well above the high-water line, and may represent the very denuded remains of a brick structure.

A dry stone structure was also found on the summit of Hill A. This was still standing to a greater height than any other such structure observed on Uronarti; it is possible that this was constructed or reconstructed more modernly. Some non-diagnostic Marl C sherds were observed on the surface, but were not collected. One had an Arabic grafitto scratched into it. Hills A and C are substantially higher than the FC site area, with no accumulation of sediment or growth of shrub in recent decades. As such, the entire area could be adequately surveyed. While many places here are too steep for construction, it is clear that even on flat areas the density of building on these high hills was not comparable to Site FC.

The "Palace"

The term "palace" or "campaign palace" is a common modern designation applied to a large rectangular mudbrick building located on the southern end of a low saddle (or plain) between Hills C and G (Fig. 3). It was cleared in ten days by WHEELER for Harvard/BMFA[89] and was visited by MILLS during the Gemai–Dal survey in 1964[90]. Of the recorded archaeological finds on Uronarti it remains one of the most enigmatic with regards to both its function and date. The designations "palace" and "campaign palace" stem from the idea that the building was built as accommodation for the Egyptian king Senwosret III during his campaigns in Nubia, but associated archaeological materials that could potentially either confirm, reject or modify this hypothesis are lacking[91]. The entire saddle occupied by the building and cemetery is covered with water when the lake rises to its highest levels. Today the site of the building is much altered through the deposition of sediments that have raised the ground level to 182 m asl, meaning that the general area can be walked at periods of extreme low water (Fig. 26). Local farmers have taken advantage of

[88] N. WHEELER, *30th March, 1930*, in: *Diary 1929–30*.

[89] D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*; N. WHEELER, *Diary 1929–30*.

[90] Site 10-Y-2, see A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 13, 1965.

[91] B. KEMP, in: *ZÄS* 113, 1986, pp. 135–136.

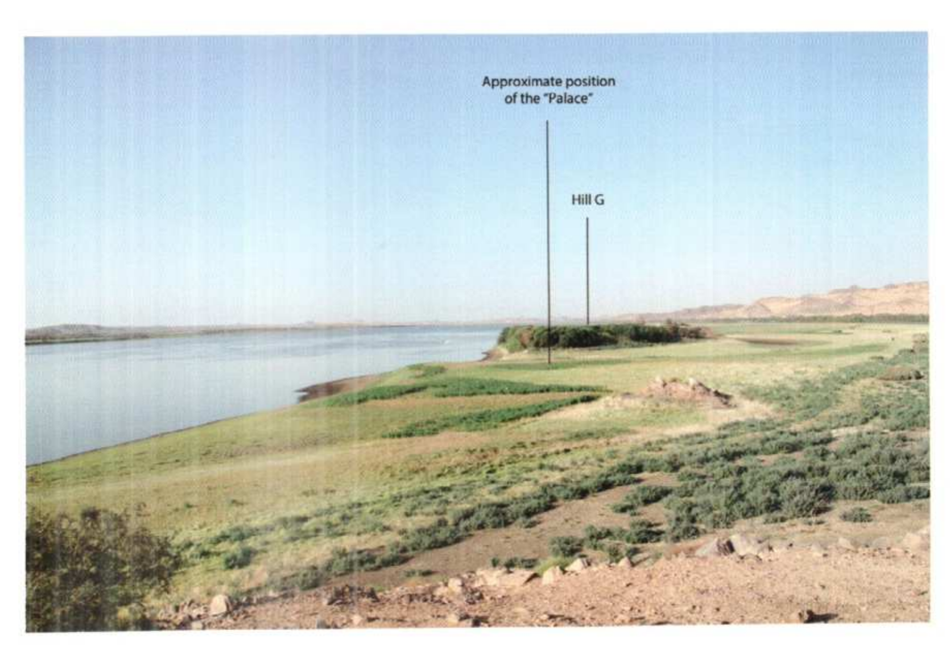


Fig. 26
View south from Hill C towards Hill G: The "palace" is beneath the modern alluvium in the centre of the picture (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

these advantageous conditions to plant a bean crop, and while we were there, sheep herds were grazing (the photograph Fig. 6 is in this area). Of the ancient or Muslim remains, nothing can be seen from the surface, and some of the archaeological remains are possibly permanently below the water table. After discussion with the locals we received permission to conduct a magnetometer survey in a non-cultivated portion of the site in the approximate area we believed the palace had originally been located. A T-shaped area with a total size of 1400 m² was surveyed. The results were disappointing in part because the georectification of the old plans evidently placed us on the edge of the feature, much of which probably lay underneath the bean crop. Nonetheless, a small area with weak anomalies could be detected. This may represent the melted remains of a mudbrick wall, and the weakness of the anomaly may be explained by a weak magnetic contrast between mudbricks and the mud of the recent alluvium. It may prove possible to widen the magnetometer survey in all directions in order to verify that this anomaly is in fact related to the ancient wall, and if so to establish the wider context of the building. This is the only area of Uronarti where magnetometry seems likely to be of much use, given that in general the site has suffered from deflation rather than accumulation. However, if meaningful results can be found in the area of the "campaign palace" in future, the potential implications are quite large. It would mean that areas flooded after the construction of the Aswan High Dam might not be as lost as supposed, either in terms of the preservation of brick architecture or in terms of our ability to detect the remains of such architecture. This may have application outside of Uronarti.

South of the "Palace" – Hill G

Hill G is the southernmost topographic feature of the ancient island above water/alluvium today but was previously ca. 150–200 m north of the southern tip of the island (Fig. 3). It lies 970 m southwest of the main gate of the Upper Fortress and only around 100 m south of the so-called campaign palace[92]. At 190 m asl, it is the lowest of the hills on Uronarti and possesses only a small summit that covers approximately 90 square metres. The summit is roughly level, but this is almost certainly the result of human alterations to the natural landscape (see below). Hill G is a rock outcrop and its sides are littered with weathered boulders and pieces of stone. The western and northern slopes of the hill-top are particularly steep making access from these directions difficult. The eastern side steps down to a lower peak or shoulder, currently used as a camping place by a fisherman and his family. The southern end of the hill is an artificial terrace discussed below. The sides of the hill are currently covered with scrub, being beneath the high-water mark.

[92] A particularly good image showing the close spatial relationship of Hill G and the "Palace" is in D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, Pl. XVA.

Hill G has obvious strategic importance for Uronarti as it has a view of parts of the southern half of the island which were not visible from the Upper Fortress, including the southern and southwestern shores as well as the saddle lying between Hills C and G where the "palace" building was located. From the summit of Hill G one would also have had an unimpeded view of river traffic travelling downstream from the direction of the Semna Cataract and, importantly, it was directly above the rapids in the eastern and western channels at the southern end of the island that posed the greatest threats to shipping[93]. Looking towards the western bank, Hill G was presumably within easy signalling distance of the southern end of the line of fortification running between Semna and Uronarti opposite the northern tip of the island of Kajinjari[94]. It also had a direct line of site with the Upper Fortress on Uronarti itself.

Archaeological remains on Hill G were first located by WHEELER during his survey of the island in February-March 1930, but the final published report[95] provided only an incomplete and inaccurate assessment of the hill's features. There Hill G is cursorily referred to as the location of a single isolated grave that was neither "numbered or recorded"[96]. However, according to diary entries for February 27th and March 7th 1930, in addition to the grave, WHEELER found the remains of stone architecture that are reminiscent of the types of stone architecture associated with the Upper Fortress, namely a stone glacis/revetment and 20 m of a stone staircase descending from the summit of Hill G to the south. He also uncovered the remains of mudbrick walls. Although there is a conflict in some of the details, it is highly likely that the same area was visited by MILLS during the UNESCO-Antiquities Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal[97].

Substantial architectural remains were observed and sketch-planned on the summit of Hill G, but no detailed surveying has yet been carried out. The remains were of three types: mudbrick walls, an apparently man-made depression in the bedrock, and a carefully built dry-stone retaining wall. Two separate areas of brick wall were found, one at the north and one at the northwest side of the hilltop. No excavation was undertaken, but the bricks visible at the surface were brushed. No clear wall faces were found, but brick lines could be identified and it is clear that brick size is within the range present at the fortress. The orientation of walls, if it is consistent with the orientation of the observed bricks, is roughly similar to that of the orthogonally laid parts of the fortress. It does not appear that more than a few centimeters of the bottom course of bricks remain on Hill G, though this will need to be verified by excavation. The depression in the bedrock has largely filled with sand and cannot be described closely before excavation. It is in the approximate middle of the hilltop and is presumed to be the grave mentioned by WHEELER (see above). The stone retaining wall is a substantial construction. A short section of wall on the east measures 3.30 m (Fig. 27). This then turns a rounded but right-angled corner to become a longer southern wall, measuring 11.90 m. The observed width of the wall from the top is not entirely consistent, but averages about 1.20 m. The wall was made of irregular flat pieces of stone that do not show signs of having been worked. These were stacked in such a way as to create a relatively smooth outer face though the irregularity of the stones left many gaps (Fig. 28). The face of the wall is rather steeply sloped, with an angle of approximately 70 degrees. The preserved greatest height of the wall is 0.70 m, representing 11 or 12 irregular layers – not quite courses – of stones. The wall is founded on bedrock which is itself sloped, meaning that the elevation of the top of the terrace is higher than the adjacent southern part of the island to a greater degree than is accounted for by the wall alone. This construction appears to be extremely similar to the construction of the stone glacis for much of the fort; the rounded corner particularly recalls the foundations for the bastions on the spur walls. The construction of the retaining wall expanded the useable area at the top of Hill G and made it roughly rectangular. Our initial observation is that the bricks found and the retaining wall are similarly aligned, suggesting that these constructions on Hill G were coordinated.

[93] For these, see L. BORCHARDT, *Altägyptische Festungen*, Bl. 21; D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, Map II.

[94] A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 15, 1973; L. BORCHARDT, *Altägyptische Festungen*, p. 13, Bl. 12, Bl. 14d.

[95] D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*.

[96] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[97] "A second set of graves, perhaps as many as ten, is atop the *gebel* between 10-Y-2 and 10-Y-5. These appear to be NK tombs and don't seem to have been recently excavated. None were opened." (A. MILLS, *Unpublished Notes from Survey*). Considering that Site 10-Y-2 is the "Campaign Palace" that is directly to the north of Hill G and that Site 10-Y-5 is a Christian Settlement Site directly to the South of the same hill (according to the plan published in A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 15, 1973, pp. 200–210, Fig. 1), it is clear the MILLS must be referring to Hill G. However, the present survey recorded only a single structure that appears to have been a tomb in this area (as did WHEELER). It is possible that the area MILLS describes is a flat shoulder to the east of the summit that is currently occupied by the camp of a fisherman and his family that we could not survey.



Fig. 27
View of stone terracing atop Hill G from the south east (Photo by L. BESTOCK)



Fig. 28
Detailed view of stone work atop Hill G: View of southern wall from the south. The height of the wall is approximately 0.7 m (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

The top of Hill G was walked in regular transects. Two people walked 1 m apart along north-south lines, covering all of the hilltop. The fishermen living on the side of the hill joined informally in helping collect material. All visible surface ceramic sherds were collected and analyzed for the purpose of elucidating the site's functions and periods of use. However, from the outset, it should probably be made clear that there is unlikely to be any significant correspondence between the quantity of pottery collected from the surface of the site and the degree of intensity of site use. The quantity of sherds from Hill G is low, but this is probably a direct result of the modern site formation process: WHEELER cleared the top of this hill-top to reveal the architectural features and in doing so undoubtedly removed the associated archaeological remains. It is also highly likely that some type of finds collection took place at that time, regardless of whether this material was ultimately registered or not. We know that at least one sherd was actually registered. This would explain the very low diagnostic/non-diagnostic ratio which we have noticed in comparison with the samples from the outer fortress (16–25 %). We may best understand our collection as the rejected residue from a pre-conceived collection and sorting strategy of which we have no understanding. Furthermore, modern site transformation processes may have affected our sample in another

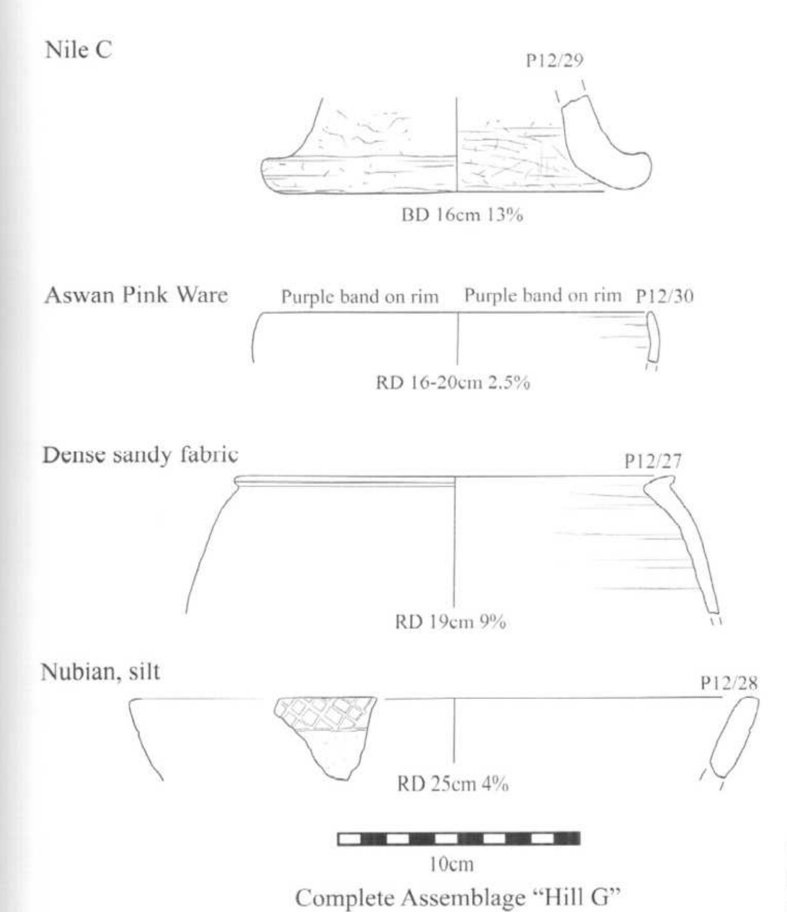


Fig. 29
Diagnostic Pottery from Hill G
(Image by CH. KNOBLAUCH/S. ALLEN)

way. We observed that the fishermen living on Hill G were using (ancient?) potsherds for their own purposes and were presumably selecting (non-randomly) sherds that were best suited for these tasks.

All the pottery that was visible on the surface of the top of Hill G and its immediate surrounds was collected. 3.4 kg of sherds (128 individual sherds) in total were taken back to the camp for analysis. The overwhelming majority of the pottery (122 of 128 sherds = ca. 3.2 kg)) was non-diagnostic and was quantified by weight and sherd count according to ware groups. Of this total, 1.2 kg of the sherds (50 sherds) was too eroded to be included in the analysis (see below). Of the six diagnostic sherds, only four were well preserved enough to be drawn (Fig. 29). Photos of the characteristic fabrics were also taken as these have implications for the dating of the sherd assemblage (see below).

The ware analysis indicated that the pottery from Hill G contains material from two main periods. The largest component of the pottery assemblage (1.67 kg/ 36 sherds/1 (or possibly 2) diagnostic sherds) comprises wares and fabrics typical for Egyptian pharaonic pottery production of the late third millennium through to the first half of the second millennium BC (Egyptian Middle Kingdom – Second Intermediate Period). The other material can likely be dated to the first millennium AD. The material is introduced from oldest to earliest according to fabric and ware.

Phase I: Egyptian Second Millennium BC

Tab. 10 Second Millenium BC Pottery from Hill G by Ware

Fabric	Sherds	%	Weight (kg)	%
Nile B1	1	2,63	0,01	0,59
Nile B/C	3	7,89	0,06	3,59
Nile C	30	78,94	1,50	89,82
Marl C	4	10,52	0,1	5,99
Total	38	100	1,67	100

The definition of this phase of site occupation rests almost solely on a small quantity of non-diagnostic material and significance is attributed to the appearance and combination of the different fabrics and wares present. The chronological definitions of this phase must out of necessity remain broad and flexible.

Nile B1

A single body sherd from a thin-walled, open shaped vessel of Nile B1 in the Vienna system was recovered. The sherd was wheel-made and uncoated. While the fabric is most typical for the Middle Kingdom, being found in great quantities on all Middle Kingdom sites[98], small quantities of sherds made of Nile B1 have been recorded in New Kingdom contexts at Amarna[99], Memphis[100] and at Deir el-Ballas[101].

Nile B2/C

A fragment belonging to the base of a pot-stand or footed bowl (Fig. 29, P12/29) made of fabric Nile B2/C was recovered. The interior of the base was roughly cut/scraped, the remainder was smoothed. The form of the base is a generic one on which there are numerous variations. A date in the Middle to early New Kingdom may be cautiously suggested.

Nile C

Thirty thick body sherds belonging to heavy, wheel-made jars in Nile C fabric comprise the majority of the assemblage, but unfortunately the surfaces of these sherds were particularly poorly preserved. Whether the vessels had been slipped and the method of surface treatment could not be determined.

Marl C

Four body sherds belonging to large hand-made storage jars of Marl C fabric were recorded. Marl C is especially typical for the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period[102]. Although some sherds have been reported at early 18th Dynasty sites such as at Abydos[103] and Sai[104], it is not yet clear whether Marl C vessels were being actually being produced, or simply (re-)used at this time. Marl C does not occur in mid to late 18th Dynasty contexts[105].

Summing this meager evidence together, the most likely scenario is that the ceramic material represents an occupation at the site during the Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period. An early New Kingdom cannot be entirely excluded but is unlikely.

Although it belongs to a different tradition, it is perhaps prudent at this juncture to make reference to the sherd depicted in Fig. 29 (P12/28). Made of silt, the rim is decorated with a narrow band of incised cross hatching with a lower border line. The rim is poorly preserved and establishing the rim stance and diameter with confidence is difficult. The decoration is certainly reminiscent of the Middle Nile Nubian pottery traditions of the 3rd–2nd millennia BC[106], but similar designs are also known from as late as the mid first millennium AD[107]. Therefore, while it is conceivable that the vessel is contemporary with the Egyptian material of this date from Hill G, as the site had a long history, this supposition should probably be left open. It is the only incised sherd found on Hill G.

Nubian 1st Millennium AD

Tab. 11 Nubian 1st Millennium BC Pottery from Hill G by fabric

Fabric	Sherds	%	Weight (kg)	%
Silt Amphora	5	11,62	0,05	9,7
Sandy Amphora	2	4,65	0,02	3,88
Aswan Pink (Open)	6	13,95	0,045	8,75
Aswan Pink (Closed)	31	72,09	0,4	77,6
Total	43	100	0,515	100

The next largest component of the ceramic assemblage from Hill G is identifiable by distinctive fabrics and wares as well as manufacturing technology that firmly set it apart from the assemblage just discussed. This material conforms more to the ceramics industries of the 1st millennium AD as covered by the late Meroitic/X-Group and Christian periods. Only one diagnostic piece and a small quantity of body sherds (0.515 kg/43 sherds), representing perhaps four or five individual vessels, were assigned to this group,

98 I. e. H.-Å. Nordström/J. Bourriau, *Ceramic Technology*, p. 171.

99 P. Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, *EM* 83, London 2007, p. 13.

100 Fabric G-1 in J. Bourriau/L. Smith/P. Nicholson, *New Kingdom Pottery Fabrics. Nile Clay and Mixed Nile/Marl Clay Fabrics from Memphis and Amarna*, *Occasional Publications* 14, London 2000, pp. 5–6; B. Bader, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XIX, pp. 607–610.

101 J. Bourriau, *The Pottery*, in: P. Lacovara, *Deir el-Ballas. Preliminary Report on the Deir el-Ballas Expedition, 1980–1986*, *ARCER* 12, Winona Lake 1990, p. 56, Fig. 4.2:8.

102 Cf. B. Bader, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XIII, p. 232.

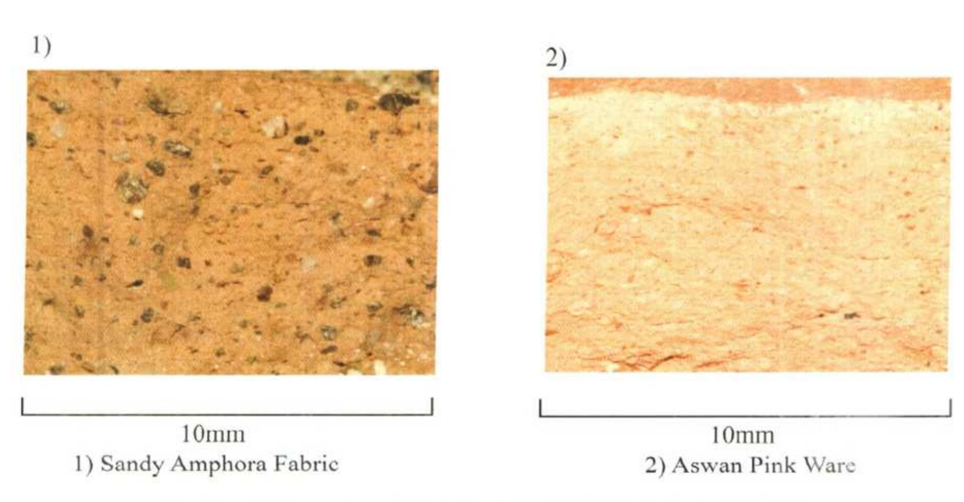
103 J. Budka, *The Oriental Institute Ahmose and Tetisheri Project at Abydos 2002–2004: The New Kingdom Pottery*, in: *Ä&L* 16, 2006, pp. 94–95, Fig. 6.1, Fig. 12.1–2.

104 Ead., *The Early New Kingdom at Sai: Preliminary Results Based on the Pottery Analysis*, in: *Sudan & Nubia* 15, 2011, p. 28.

105 I. e. Amarna, P. Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus from Amarna*, *EM* 83, London 2007.

106 I. e. T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Middle Nubian Sites*, *Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia* 4.1, Stockholm 1989, Fig. 17.

107 I. e. H. Barnard, *Eastern Desert Ware: A First Introduction*, in: *Sudan & Nubia* 6, 2002, p. 55, Fig. 2, EDW 33, 35.



1) Sandy Amphora Fabric 2) Aswan Pink Ware

Fig. 30 1st Millennium AD Fabrics from Hill G (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

making a definitive determination of cultural and chronological origin problematic.

Aswan Pink Ware

We collected five thin body sherds and one rim sherd belonging to an open form made of a fine, hard pink fabric tempered with very fine quartz, biotite and fine red non-plastic inclusions (Fig. 30.2). The fabric matches the description of the kaolinite clay "Tongemisch IA" at Elephantine[108] also known as "Aswan Pink Ware". The vessel surface is red slipped (10R5/6) and the rim is painted with a dark purple (2.5Y N3/) band. While Aswan Pink Ware is very common in the Roman to Late Roman periods in Egypt and Nubia, it was being used for pottery production at Aswan at least as early as the Third Intermediate Period[109]. However, although the limited preservation of the vessel does not allow us to point to parallels, the ware of the material corresponds broadly to the description of "Egyptian Red Slip A" of the mid 1st millennium AD. Thirty (0.4 kg) medium-thick body sherds belonging to a large closed vessel made in the same fabric were also recovered from the site. The exterior walls of the vessel are heavily ribbed and were originally covered with a thick red slip. A poorly preserved handle base in this ware was also recovered indicating that the sherds belong to an amphora or similar type of vessel.

Silt Amphora or Similar

Five heavily ribbed body sherds belonging to a dark brown silt amphora probably belong to the same phase of site use, but no diagnostics in this ware were found.

Sandy Fabric

Two sherds were found of a ribbed, closed vessel made of a fabric with abundant non-plastic inclusions, of which quartz predominates (Fig. 30.1).

A rim of a cooking pot made in a hard sandy fabric (Fig. 29, P12/27) may belong with this later material, but it could conceivably also be much earlier in date.

The gleanings from this stunted sample are that this material is clearly different from the earlier Egyptian material presented above. It represents a much altered pottery industry characterized by the forming of vessels on a fast wheel and fabrics and wares typical for the first millennium AD. Whether the site was occupied for a limited or extended period of time cannot be deduced on the basis of the current sample. Our current working hypothesis is that this material can perhaps best be assigned to the period when Hill G was used as a formal disposal area. The earlier, Egyptian ceramic material may be related to the primary phase of site formation on Hill G that is characterized by regular, mudbrick architecture, stone terracing and a long stone staircase. This phase, according to our reading of the meager ceramic remains, should date sometime during the first half of the Second Millennium BC, in other words roughly contemporary with the evidence for activity at the Upper Fortress on Uronarti as well as the "palace", should the latter really be of this date. The remains could be part of a

108 R. GEMPELER, *Elephantine* X. *Die Keramik römischer bis früharabischer Zeit*, *AV* 43, Mainz 1992, p. 20, Farbtafel II.1.

109 D. ASTON, *Elephantine* XIX. *Pottery from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Ptolemaic Period*, *AV* 95, Mainz 1999, p. 7.

watch tower, signaling post or a component of a hitherto unsuspected fortification system on the southern part of the island related perhaps to the "palace".

Sites that have been lost

The pedestrian survey of the island, combined with georectification of old aerial imagery, allows us to make a summary list of other ancient sites on the island that were identified by WHEELER and MILLS during their surveys but are now probably beneath the water/alluvium level. The approximate positions of these sites are shown in Fig. 3. They are:

- A rock inscription on the southernmost granite outcrop of the island below Hill G made by *Twri*, the Viceroy of Kush during the reign of Amenhotep I[110].
- A settlement of "X-Group/Christian Period" date on the north western shore of the Island of Uronarti[111]. These are probably identical with the remains of stone huts and pottery noted by WHEELER at point H, a seasonal island attached to Uronarti[112]. A thick stone-wall on island "H" identified by WHEELER may or may not be related to these stone huts[113].
- A "Christian" town site south of Hill G[114].
- A complex series of artificial stone terraces in a *wadi* to the west of the so-called "Campaign Palace". These were described by WHEELER in his notebook, but never fully explored or documented[115]. Presumably the same remains are described by BORCHARDT[116]. It is tempting to view them as being related to the "Palace", but this of course cannot be proven.
- A "large number" of stone huts "southeast of Hill C" identified by WHEELER[117]. Perhaps these are identical to a large conglomeration of circular features just to the east of the so-called campaign palace visible in an aerial photo of the island published in 1955[118].
- The graves belonging to the fortress[119]. These were on the north eastern and northern slope of Hill A opposite the fortress. We could find no trace of them on the parts of Hill A permanently above water and it could be they are now beneath modern alluvium or obscured by shrub.
- An additional group of graves identified by MILLS "west of about the Middle of the fortress" has also presumably disappeared. These were neither numbered nor investigated and their precise location is unknown. According to MILLS the cemetery appeared to be pharaonic, but also included Nubian graves[120]. Neither the description of the location or the character of the graves seems to overlap with any of the cemeteries explored by WHEELER.

4. The Regional Survey

One of the key aims of the current project is to understand Uronarti in local patterns of settlement and land use and not as an isolated, implemented colonial outpost which can be understood without fully incorporating the archaeological data from the regional context. This wider context includes settlement as well as sites for resource extraction, such as the Saras gold mines[121]. Most of these sites are now permanently beneath water and can only be studied in archives, but others are certainly still preserved and should be restudied *in situ* as the first data from our new regional survey demonstrate.

Unfortunately only one day remained for starting the regional survey which was conducted by boat and foot. Only two areas were investigated: the area around the fortress of Semna-West and the fortress of Shalfak. The location of all sites was recorded by GPS and processed in our GIS. Sherd collection was conducted in only one case, and then purposively. During the day, we were able to visit the following sites:

- The Fortress at Semna West (4.1)
- The fortification wall west of Semna (4.2)
- Two sites in the hinterland of Semna West (4.3)
- The fortress at Shalfak (4.4)

110 MILLS site 10-Y-3, see A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 13, 1965, p. 5; D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, Pl. XXVI.
111 MILLS Site 10-Y-4, see A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 13, 1965, p. 5.
112 N. WHEELER, *3rd March, 1930*, in: *Diary 1929–30*.
113 *Loc. cit.*
114 MILLS Site 10-Y-5, see A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 13, 1965, p. 5.
115 N. WHEELER, *27th February, 1930* and *3rd March, 1930*, in: *Diary 1929–30*.
116 L. BORCHARDT, *Altägyptische Festungen*, p. 23.
117 N. WHEELER, *3rd March, 1930*, in: *Diary 1929–30*.
118 P. SHINNIE, in: *Kush* 3, 1955, Pl. XIV.
119 Graves 1–7; D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, pp. 31–32.
120 A. MILLS, *Unpublished Notes from Survey*.
121 A. MILLS/H.-Å. NORDSTRÖM, in: *Kush* 14, 1966, pp. 1–15.

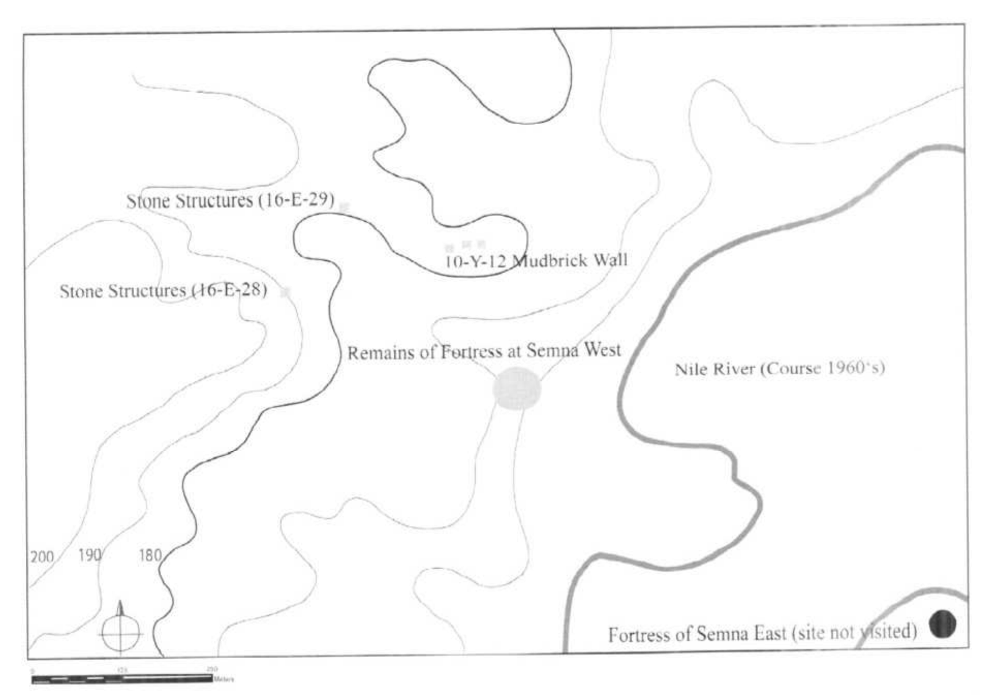


Fig. 31 Georectified plan of west bank of Semna (K. OTTO/G. BUSCHENDORF, *Felsbilder aus dem sudanesischen Nubien*, Berlin 1993, Taf. 19 und 25) with location of surveyed sites indicated as plotted with GPS (Image by A. MAKOVICS)

4.1 The Fortress of Semna West

The fortress of Semna West (Fig. 31) was cleared by REISNER and WHEELER for Harvard/BMFA in campaigns during 1924, 1927 and 1928[122]. Survey of the site in 1962 had shown that the area was to be flooded by the water of Lake Nasser[123], and subsequently the 18th Dynasty stone temple, recorded by RICARDO CAMINOS in 1962, was dismantled and removed to the Khartoum National Museum by HINKEL in 1964[124]. In the Gemai–Dal survey by MILLS it was given the Site Number 16-E-I. By pure chance, when we visited the area of Semna, the extremely low level of the water meant that we were able to visit the highest ancient levels of the fortress, enabling us to establish precise GPS coordinates for the fortress for the first time. The remains we visited were up to 1 m above the then height of the lake at 182 m asl. The remainder of the site was below water/alluvium level. That the site was visible at all was unexpected to us.

Around 100 square meters of ancient surface were exposed, the surface consisting of stone debris, mudbrick and pottery (Fig. 32). A stone libation trough is lying on the surface of the site. The lines of mudbrick walls belonging to rooms could still be traced in places and we also observed ceramic vessels sunk into the floor for use as storage. The bricks could not have survived without having been fired, and may belong to one of the parts of the fortress that the excavators noted as having been burnt in conflagrations[125]. That the site is still on the surface despite decades of constant or seasonal inundation is testament to the divergence in siltation patterns under Lake Nasser. While some areas have been entirely covered with thick mud, this area saw negligible deposition.

The site is naturally in poor condition and the surface is covered with collapsed debris and grasses. This made comparison with the plans of the fortress impossible in the short time that was available to us.

122 D. DUNHAM/J. JANSSEN, *Second Cataract Forts* I. *Semna, Kumma*, Boston 1960, pp. 1–3 (hereafter D. DUNHAM/J. JANSSEN, *Semna, Kumma*); cf. PM VII, pp. 144–151 for earlier visits and work.

123 F. HINKEL, in: *Kush* 13, 1965, p. 96.

124 *Ibid.*

125 D. DUNHAM/J. JANSSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 6. While the first use of baked brick in Egyptian construction does appear to have been at the fortresses, where Shalfak and Mirgissa were both provided with small areas of fired brick pavings (D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, pp. 119, 148; A. J. SPENCER, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt*, Warminster 1979, p. 140), these were clearly something different. The fired brick pavers were square. The bricks we observed were similar to standard Middle Kingdom fortress bricks in appearance, including sometimes having two or three finger-sized holes in their top surface. We did not measure the bricks, however, and without a better understanding of where within the fortress we were standing we cannot be certain that we were looking at Middle Kingdom rather than later walls.



Fig. 32
Remains of the fortress of Semna West, looking east (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

4.2 The Fortification Wall West of Semna

A further result of the regional survey was the relocation of a section of the ancient mudbrick wall (Fig. 1, -hashed line, Fig. 33) that ran 4.5 km along the western bank between Semna West and Uronarti. Its extent was ascertained by MILLS as part of the UNESCO-Antiquities Archaeological Survey[126]. However, the wall was never subjected to a proper archaeological investigation and substantial questions pertaining to its construction and dating remain unresolved[127]. According to the topographic map of the Semna-Uronarti areas published by MILLS, the line of the wall crossed five ridges that lay above the predicted height of the reservoir[128]. During the survey we were able to identify what is presumably one of these ridges ca. 200 m northwest of the remains of Semna West (Fig. 31) and were able to trace the line of the wall for around 50 m. Unfortunately, this task was rendered more simple by the efforts of modern treasure hunters who had systematically pitted the wall at regular intervals. This may be because of belief that there was a temple here, as told to us by some of the local fishermen.

The section of wall that was observed and partly brushed off runs approximately east-west (Fig. 33)[129]. Brick size is 30–31 × 14–15 cm, well within the range of standard Middle Kingdom bricks at the fortresses. The exposed section of wall measured approximately 6 m in width. Only a few courses were remaining, and it is clear that the ground was not leveled before construction of the wall; the foundation courses of the northern face of the wall were at a substantially higher elevation than the foundation of the southern face.

Pottery was found on the surface of the site at a number of locations, but was not systematically collected as this should await a thorough survey. Only two diagnostic sherds were collected but both were lying loose in no clear/direct relationship to the wall (Fig. 34). The first sherd (P12/45) belongs to the Egyptian Middle Kingdom tradition, and represents a further development of the Nile C water jars/beer jars found in the outer fortress on Uronarti (Fig. 19, P12/6; Fig. 20, P12/22) and Site FC (Fig. 24, P12/40). As opposed to these vessels from Uronarti, the rim has a distinct groove on its interior and hence belongs to the group of so-called 'kettle mouthed' vessels. While they first appear at the beginning of the 13th Dynasty

[126] Site number 10-Y-12, A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 15, 1973, p. 206, hashed line of Fig. 1, Pl. XXXVIII; cf. D. DUNHAM/J. JANSSEN, *Semna, Kumma*, Plan 1.

[127] Cf. C. VOGEL, *Archäologische und epigraphische Belege zur Nilschiffahrt im Bereich des Zweiten Katarakts*, in: *SAK* 26, 1998, pp. 270–271; EAD., *Ägyptische Festungen und Garnisonen bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*, *HÄB* 46, Hildesheim 2004, pp. 268–271.

[128] A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 15, 1973, Fig. 1.

[129] The orientation of this segment of the wall does not match that of the corresponding section of wall as preliminarily published by A. MILLS, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1 (here Fig. 1), but it does match the course of the wall as documented in an archival map, upon which (presumably) the published plan was based. The latter was shown to us by D. EDWARDS.



Fig. 33
View looking southeast over the mudbrick remains that probably belong to the defensive wall west of the fortress of Semna West. The remains of the latter are visible as a small Nile isthmus in the background. The loose rock to the left of the mudbrick derive from modern pitting of the wall (Photo by L. BESTOCK)

in the Memphite area[130], they seem to make their first appearance in the Theban area later, perhaps as late as the second third of the 13th Dynasty[131]. The second piece collected from the site is the rim of a small bowl made of silt with incised decoration (P12/44). The decoration consists of a line of incised circles and a band of 'herring bone' patterned incisions. The surface of the interior and exterior was red slipped and the interior had been lightly burnished. This vessel probably belongs within the broader Nubian potting tradition of the 3rd–2nd millennium BC[132]. It is worth stressing that this was the only Nubian sherd identified at the site and that the non-diagnostic material seen but not collected in great quantities at the site is all of Egyptian manufacture.

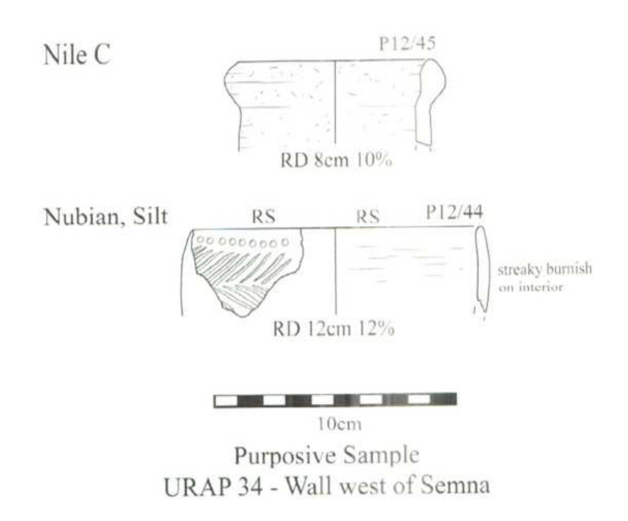


Fig. 34 Diagnostic Pottery from the vicinity of the wall west of Semna (Image by CH. KNOBLAUCH/S. ALLEN)

4.3 Sites to the west of Semna

During the survey we were able to identify two further sites on the western bank of Semna (Fig. 31), in the desert to the west of the fortress. Their coordinates were recorded by GPS, but no detailed survey was made of these sites and only very limited sampling was undertaken. Both sites consist of a small number of stone circles. Georectification of old Survey plans indicates that they are probably to be identified with two sites identified by MILLS during the Gemai–Dal survey in 1963–1964[133]. They are:

16-E-28 – A hilltop site with a series of at least five stone huts made from dry-stone masonry approximately 200 m west of the fortress of Semna. The stone circles are similar in nature to those discov-

[130] D. ASTON, *Tell el-Dabᶜa* XII, pp. 82–83.

[131] A. SEILER, *Tradition & Wandel*, pp. 128–130.

[132] B. GRATIEN, *Le Pots de Cuisson Nubien et les Bols Décorés*, in: *CCE* 5, 2000, pp. 113–148; H.-Å. NORDSTRÖM, *The A-Group and C-Group in Lower Nubia*, in: *Kush* 14, 1966, Fig. 1:14.

[133] A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 15, 1973, Fig. 1.

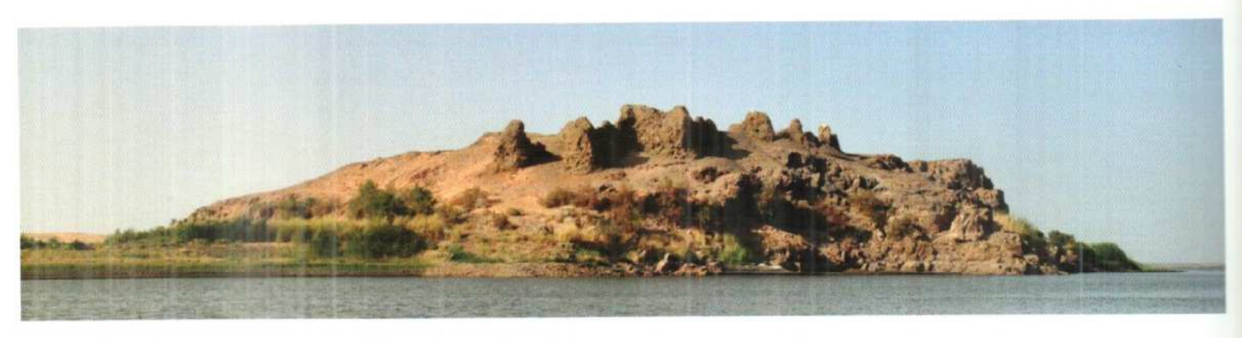


Fig. 35 View of fortress at Shalfak, view looking north (Photo by CH. KNOBLAUCH)



Fig. 36 View looking north over the interior of the fortress at Shalfak from the South Wall-East (Photo by CH. KNOBLAUCH)

ered on Uronarti, particularly at Site FC, though the stone used is somewhat darker. A digging tool made of Marl C fabric was noted on the surface. According to MILLS, this should be a pharaonic site[134].

16-E-29 – A flat site with stone circles 100 m due west of the remains of the wall (10-Y-12 above). Somewhat more stone circles were observed here, perhaps as many as twenty. A single Marl C sherd was seen on the surface but not collected. According to MILLS this was a C-Group site[135].

4.4 The Fortress of Shalfak

A brief afternoon visit was paid to the fortress at Shalfak (Fig. 1, Site 1 in square 11-U), 5.2 km northeast of Uronarti[136]. Like Uronarti, the fortress at Shalfak had been completely cleared by WHEELER for the BMFA/

[134] *Loc. cit.*
[135] *Ibid.*
[136] MILLS Survey Site 11-U-1, A. MILLS, in: *Kush* 13, 1965, p. 5.

Harvard expedition[137], which was the last work to take place at the site. It was long presumed that Shalfak had been lost along with Uronarti, however in 2002 D. WELSBY could confirm its survival by identifying it from the eastern bank of the Nasser Lake[138]. In the meantime, a number of other missions working in the Sudan have visited the site. Our visit to the site was intended only to establish precise heights for the fortress in relation to the varying heights of the lake. No formal survey was undertaken at Shalfak, the point of the visit having been simply observation for the purposes of future planning.

Shalfak had been on the west bank of the Nile in ancient times, became an island after the construction of the High Dam, and was at the time we visited again connected to the west bank due to low water and siltation in the channel. The fortress sits between the heights of 185 and 205 m asl and is therefore almost completely out of the reach of the highest dam levels (Fig. 35)[139]. The only losses due to high water/siltation that we could confirm were the bottom half of the "river stairs" and associated stone quay[140] and the most northern part of the North "spur wall" or "North Wing"[141]. We noted that the walls of the fortress, both the outer defenses and the interior buildings, are better preserved than at Uronarti (Fig. 36). This is true even of the wooden beams in the walls; these are still present at Shalfak whereas at Uronarti only their negative space and occasionally the bark from tree branches is still present. Like at Uronarti, major spoil piles could be identified. The largest is along the exterior of the west wall-southwest wall and consists of spoil with a high density of pottery (Egyptian and Nubian), mud and other remains. It appears to derive from the excavations in the interior of the fortress. Further afield, it was not possible to identify the cemeteries from the fortress during our short stay.

5. Outlook and Potential

The first survey season of the Vienna/Brown Uronarti Regional Survey has demonstrated the potential that this area of the Second Cataract still has to offer archaeological research. While the real losses caused by the construction of the *Sadd el-Ali* dam are not to be downplayed, our survey has shown that enough old sites, and probably new sites, remain to allow us to bring new questions and new technologies to bear on this area. Moreover, combining new data with old data is expected to significantly expand our view of the area around Semna-Uronarti. While the full potential of these sites will only become clear after a larger and more systematic survey, below we outline some ways in which we expect the current project to be fruitful.

One of the most basic and important outcomes of the project will be intensive mapping of the area. We will produce a more detailed and accurate topographic map, one that takes into account the real, rather than simply projected, effects of the *Sadd el-Ali*. Using GPS we will be able to accurately locate both previously known and newly discovered sites within the GIS we have created. We have already shown at Uronarti that there are undocumented sites that can be discovered by pedestrian survey. By making such survey systematic and extending it to the riverbanks we expect to be far more thorough as well as more accurate in locating sites than was possible in previous surveys. This is the more likely to be important given that earlier surveys, with good reason, tended to focus on the lower elevations that would be flooded behind the dam. Systematic walking of transects combined with the exceptional increase in speed and accuracy of surveying provided by modern technology will allow the collection of large amounts of new data. Old plans will be georectified and included in the GIS. The use of statistical sampling strategies will also allow data to be collected in a manner that permits rigorous analysis. Questions we intend to approach via the GIS include those of settlement patterns and lines of sight.

The fortress at Uronarti itself will become the focus of a complete new documentation. Observations from the first season allow us to suggest that we will be able to improve our understanding of the construction history and layout of the fortress and its outer buildings. It is not yet clear what types of questions will be reasonable at Semna given the state of the remains, but test excavations there are intended.

Better understanding the landscape and the way the fortresses and other sites interacted with one another and their settings will enable us to readdress fundamental questions about the histories of Egypt and Nubia. This is one of the few places that we can

[137] D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*.

[138] D. WELSBY, in: *Sudan & Nubia* 8, 2004.

[139] It should be noted that the ASL readings for Shalfak (ca. 179 m) provided by Google earth are completely inaccurate.

[140] I. e. D. DUNHAM, *Uronarti, Shelfak, Mirgissa*, p. 120, Section Map XII.

[141] *Ibid.*, pp. 119–120, Section Map XI.

approach the complex and important issue of Egyptian/Nubian interactions during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period on the ground, rather than through ideologically charged and very biased Egyptian textual and artistic records. No discussion of warfare, administration, economy, ethnicity, cultural interaction or international trade in ancient Egypt can fail to take into account the fortresses of Lower Nubia, yet the potential of these monuments has never been entirely tapped. It is all the more important to continually re-ask these questions as our own perspective changes. Uronarti was last excavated when the Sudan was part of the British Empire, and there can be little doubt that the intellectual lenses of modern imperialism colored the picture that was painted of ancient Egyptian hegemony. We do not suggest that we are able to entirely shed the biases of our own age, but do hope that the great advances in archaeological theory in the intervening decades will allow us to pose more sensitive questions about the relations between polities and peoples.

Before 2004, it was difficult to conceive of a future for archaeological research in the area of the previous Second Cataract. The first season conducted by the Vienna/Brown Uronarti Region Archaeological Project has demonstrated the significant potential this area holds and has laid the logistical and technical groundwork for further work.

Abstract

The Uronarti Regional Archaeological Project has been established by the University of Vienna and Brown University in order to reinvestigate the Egyptian fortress at the island of Uronarti in its regional context. The fortress on Uronarti was one of a series of strongly fortified mudbrick fortresses built by the kings of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom on either side of the second cataract of the Nile. As one of only two fortresses to have survived the flooding of Lower Nubia (in modern northern Sudan) that resulted from the construction of the high dam at Aswan, Egypt, in the 1960's, Uronarti represents a unique opportunity to answer questions concerning the construction, function and chronology of a single fortress and indeed the fortress system as a whole. The current article presents the results of the first survey campaign conducted in March–April 2012.

The PETRIES' Unpublished Archaeological Survey between Hu and Abydos

By BRYAN KRAEMER

Many have praised WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS PETRIE as the conceptual father of several archaeologies: Egyptian Archaeology, Palestinian Archaeology, Egyptian Prehistory, etc. The published record of his work reinforces the merit of these titles. In his long career, FLINDERS PETRIE published over one hundred books on his research in Egypt, England, and Palestine as well as on the artefacts that he collected for the Petrie Museum at University College London[1]. As evidence of the enterprising nature of his work, FLINDERS PETRIE's publications were the first and for a long time the only published scientific investigations of many archaeological sites. Yet these published volumes are only part of the existing records from his work. Many of the notebooks, diaries, and letters that FLINDERS PETRIE wrote during his career still exist and are safely archived for the benefit of scholars in the Petrie Museum, Griffith Institute, and Egypt Exploration Society's (EES) Lucy Gura Archive[2]. HILDA PETRIE's own significant contributions to the scientific work accredited to her husband are also contained among these records. Their notebooks have information about their excavations, their workforce, their purchases of objects, and their itineraries. Likewise, the many letters that they wrote provide a commentary on their work and their life during the excavations[3]. The value of these records for Egyptian archaeology, the social history of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Egypt, and the history of the science of archaeology is still growing in appreciation today[4]. Moreover, unpublished secrets locked in FLINDERS' scrawled handwriting and in HILDA's mercifully

[1] E. P. UPHILL, *Bibliography of Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853–1942)*, in: *JNES* 31, 1972, pp. 356–379. The full scope of his career can be appreciated by reading his autobiography *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, London 1935 (hereafter W. M. F. PETRIE, *Seventy Years*), and his biography by M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie. A Life in Archaeology*, Madison, Wisc. 1995 (hereafter M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*). The recent documentary produced by BBC Four *Flinders Petrie: 'The Man Who Discovered Egypt'* provides an excellent overview.

[2] The PETRIES' notebooks are kept at the Petrie Museum, University College London. They were left in the museum among FLINDERS PETRIE's papers after his death and not rediscovered until the 1960's and 1980's (E. J. BAUMGARTEL, *Petrie's Naqada Excavation. A Supplement*, London 1970, p. 6 [hereafter E. J. BAUMGARTEL, *Petrie's Naqada Excavation*]; B. ADAMS, *Petrie's Manuscript Notes on the Koptos Foundation Deposits of Tuthmosis III*, in: *JEA* 61, 1975, pp. 102–113; J. BOURRIAU, *Museum Acquisitions, 1982: Egyptian Antiquities Acquired in 1982 by Museums in the United Kingdom*, in: *JEA* 70, 1984, p. 130). Only a few of these notebooks have written page numbers. 'Scan' numbers are references to the pages in pdf files of scanned images of the notebooks found on the CD ROM: Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology – University College London, Friends of the Petrie Museum, and Secure Data Services Limited, *Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie* CD ROM, London 1999. My sincere gratitude goes to STEPHEN QUIRKE, former chief curator of the Petrie Museum, for letting me see the original notebooks on two occasions during the research for this paper. The PETRIES' letters, known as the 'Petrie Journals', are kept at the Griffith Institute, Oxford University: http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4Petrie.html (checked 18.09. 2013). HILDA's and FLINDERS' daughter ANN PETRIE donated these letters to the Griffith Institute in 1970. Many thanks to the Griffith Institute for allowing me access to the letters during two research trips to Oxford. We can look forward to their continuing digitizing and transcribing of these letters: http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4pej8081.html (checked 18.09. 2013). Additionally, the Egypt Exploration Society's Lucy Gura Archive has copies of letters that FLINDERS sent to the Egypt Exploration Fund during the years of his work for the Fund. Many thanks to the former Honourable Director PATRICIA SPENCER and current Honourable Director CHRIS NAUNTON for allowing me access to the Lucy Gura Archive on two occasions during the research for this paper. My sincere gratitude goes to all of these institutions for letting me publish excerpts from these documents.

[3] For example, see the transcripts of a sample of these letters published in M. S. DROWER, *Letters from the Desert. The Correspondence of Flinders and Hilda Petrie*, Oxford 2004 (hereafter M. S. DROWER, *Letters*).

[4] For an excellent example of the use that these records can have for studying the development of archaeology in the social history of nineteenth and twentieth century Egypt, see ST. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands*, London 2008 (hereafter ST. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands*).

clear handwriting occasionally surface in the scholarship on Egyptian archaeology[5].

This article aims to unlock one of these secrets in the PETRIES' papers. Within these archived papers, there are records of an informal archaeological survey that the PETRIES undertook in 1899. Both FLINDERS and HILDA contributed to the preserved documentation of this survey, which consists of their letters among the 'Petrie Journals' and other correspondence, as well as notes in their notebooks and pocket diaries[6]. This survey took place in the low desert between Hu and Abydos, a region that has seen limited archaeological research since 1899. Although they did not consider it worthy of publication, their discoveries are nevertheless important enough for the notice of scholars of Egyptian archaeology over one hundred years later.

This survey occurred in the middle of FLINDERS' and HILDA's second year of marriage. It was also the second season that HILDA spent in Egypt involved in her husband's archaeological research, a role that she had apparently adapted to quite readily[7]. In the course of her life, she herself would become an accomplished archaeologist, draftswoman and scholar[8]. HILDA contributed to many of the volumes edited by her husband and others, and she authored three monographs on fieldwork that she conducted with FLINDERS and by herself[9]. In the years following this survey, she began to take over writing their letters from the field, which include much insight into the excavations in progress[10]. She also actively lectured to the public on their research in Egypt[11]. It is therefore not surprising that HILDA's notes from this 1899 survey have as much and sometimes more substantial information than FLINDERS'.

In their letters, FLINDERS and HILDA refer to this survey simply as one of their "tenting trips". It seems that throughout FLINDERS' career a sort of wanderlust led him to travel great distances through the desert and countryside looking for archaeological sites. Earlier in life he had cultivated a hobby of trekking through the English countryside surveying ancient ruins, which likely served as good training for his life's vocation[12]. The tenting trips were part of FLINDERS' research strategy in Egypt from the very beginning. During his earliest work in Egypt surveying the Great Pyramid in 1881–1882, FLINDERS made three trips to Saqqara and Dahshur, to the Fayyum and Wadi Rayan and to Tura, Maasara, and Memphis[13]. On his way to his first excavation at Tanis for the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1883, he also undertook his first trip clearly intended to prospect for archaeological sites to excavate in the eastern Nile delta and Wadi Tumilat[14]. HILDA had also nurtured a passion for sketching trips in the countryside as a young girl and had taken part in geological field trips at university[15]. In their forty-

[5] In addition to the references cited elsewhere in this paper, several other studies have incorporated unpublished material from FLINDERS PETRIE'S notebooks. These include but are not limited to: B. J. KEMP, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos*, in: *MDAIK* 23, 1968, pp. 138–155; E. BAUMGARTEL, *Petrie's Naqada Excavation*; B. J. KEMP, *Photographs of the Painted Tomb at Hierakonpolis*, in: *JEA* 59, 1973, pp. 36–43; B. ADAMS, in: *JEA* 61, 1975, pp. 102–113; J. C. PAYNE, *Appendix to Naqada Excavations Supplement*, in: *JEA* 73, 1987, pp. 181–189; P. C. ROBERTS, *"One of our Mummies is Missing". Evaluating Petrie's Records from Hawara*, in: M. L. BIERBRIER (ed.), *Portraits and Masks. Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, London 1997, pp. 19–25; C. GALLORINI, *A Reconstruction of Petrie's Excavation at the Middle Kingdom Settlement of Kahun*, in: ST. QUIRKE (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, New Malden 1999, pp. 42–59; E. P. UPHILL, *Pharaoh's Gateway to Eternity. The Hawara Labyrinth of King Amenemhat III*, London/New York 2000; ST. QUIRKE, *Lahun. A Town in Egypt 1800 BC and the History of its Landscape*, London 2005; J. BOURRIAU, *Mace's Cemetery Y at Diospolis Parva*, in: D. MAGEE ET AL. (eds.), *Sitting Beside Lepsius. Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute*, *OLA* 185, Leuven 2009, pp. 39–98 (hereafter J. BOURRIAU, *Cemetery Y*).

[6] It is possible that photographs from this survey may exist among FLINDERS PETRIE'S albums kept in the Petrie Museum (M. SERPICO, *Introduction*, in: J. PICTON/I. PRIDDEN (eds.), *Unseen Images. Archive Photographs in the Petrie Museum*, London 2008, pp. 7–10; ST. QUIRKE, *Borderlines. Questions of Definition Among the Documentary and Pictorial Archives amid the Collections of the Petrie Museum*, in: *Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries* 1, 2009, pp. 129–130). They are not as yet identified. A published watercolour painting may also have been created on this trip, since it shows the *gebel* at Abydos from the location of their campsite. See below, note 173.

[7] M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 243–247.

[8] On HILDA PETRIE'S life and career in general, see M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, *passim*; EAD., *Hilda Mary Isobel Petrie, née Urlin 1871–1956..0000*, in: M. S. JOUKOWSKY/B. S. LESKO (eds.), *Breaking Ground. Women in Old World Archaeology*, pp. 1–15, see http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/bios/Petrie_Hilda (checked 01.10.2013, hereafter M. S. DROWER, *Hilda Mary Isobel Petrie*).

[9] H. PETRIE, *Egyptian Hieroglyphs of the First and Second Dynasties*, London 1927; EAD., *Side Notes on the Bible from Flinders Petrie's Discoveries*, London 1933; H. PETRIE/M. MURRAY, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, in: *BSAE* 65, London 1952.

[10] ST. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands*, pp. 50–51.

[11] M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 254–255.

[12] W. M. F. PETRIE, *Seventy Years*, pp. 13–14; J. A. CALLAWAY, *Sir Flinders Petrie. Father of Palestinian Archaeology*, in: *Biblical Archaeological Review* 6, 1980, p. 44; M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 21–26.

[13] M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 44–46, 60–62; EAD., *Letters*, pp. 27–30, 36–40.

[14] W. M. F. PETRIE, *Seventy Years*, p. 37; M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 72–76; P. SPENCER, *Hogarth's 1895 Report to the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, in: A. LEAHY/J. TAIT (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, *EES OP* 13, London 1999, pp. 301–311.

[15] M. S. DROWER, *Hilda Mary Isobel Petrie*, p. 1.


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four years of marriage, FLINDERS and HILDA made many of these trips together looking for archaeological sites. The tenting trips continued to be a pastime for them until the end of FLINDERS' life[16].

While the PETRIES undertook these trips as informal archaeological projects, their notes show that they made many important discoveries. Occasionally, these discoveries entered the publications of FLINDERS' excavations at nearby sites[17]. Frequently, the trips provided new sites for future excavations. For example, during the middle of the season at Dendera in 1898, FLINDERS and HILDA took their first tenting trip together in prospecting for sites to the north during the Bairam holiday[18]. Their discoveries led to formal excavations in the cemeteries at Abadiyeh and Hu in the following year[19]. Likewise, at the end of their second season at Abydos in 1901, they went on another trip along the desert to the north where they observed the cemeteries at Raqaqna and Hagarsa as well as the temples and tombs at Athribis[20]. Seven years later, FLINDERS would excavate at the last two mentioned sites[21].

This particular tenting trip occurred in March 1899, towards the end of the excavation season in the cemeteries at Abadiyeh and Hu. For five days, from the 2nd to the 6th, they left behind the ongoing work to FLINDERS' students DAVID RANDALL-MACIVER and ARTHUR MACE[22]. In a letter dated to the 27th of February 1899, HILDA PETRIE shows that they were trying to fit one or two possible excursions into their schedule before leaving for England:

> "We are buzy [sic] now, as tomorrow is the last available day for drawing and photography, and packing, and then F[linders] and I [will go] on a 5–6 days tenting trip down the desert, on horse and donkey, with Ali in attendance, just as last year. There was also a plan of copying tombs up in the desert cliffs above Kasr-es-Sayed, but I do not know if that is still practicable : B[eatrice] O[rme] and I were to take our beds and wherewithal up there and look in the said tombs for some days, pleasant for the hot weather, which is now threatening to begin."[23]

In a report to the Egypt Exploration Fund written on the 26th of February 1899, FLINDERS notes the plans that he was making for this trip and its purpose to prospect for archaeological sites to work on:

> "I hope in a few days to search the desert between here [=Hu] + Abydos with a view to future work; + if time allow to perhaps copy the tombs at Shekh Said before returning."[24]

They never did find time for HILDA's interests in drawing the tombs of Kasr es-Sayyed[25]. Alternatively, they resolved to take this tenting trip in the desert specifi-

[16] Their final tenting trips through Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan in 1934–1935 and 1937 used a hired caravan (M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 401–407, 416; EAD., *Letters*, pp. 250–251). FLINDERS was eighty-five by the last trip, which they took three years before his death. The joy HILDA found in these tenting trips can be seen in her article *On Travelling*, reproduced in M. S. DROWER, *Letters*, p. 255.

[17] For example, FLINDERS published notes about the Greco-Roman sites of the Fayyum that he visited over a few days in W. M. F. PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, London 1881, pp. 29–32. He also mentions a few sites that he saw in prospecting between the Fayyum and Minya in W. M. F. PETRIE, *Deshasheh 1897*, *Memoir EEF* 15, London 1898, pp. 1–3. One of their last trips through Syria produced an entire monograph, which was never published (M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, p. 421).

[18] This excursion is described in their letters (M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, p. 247; EAD., *Letters*, pp. 137–141). Notes from this trip can be found in University College London, Petrie Notebook 17C, scans 3–6. A good part of these notes are of Coptic graffiti that they found in a cave. FLINDERS also described the results of this trip in his report to the Egypt Exploration Fund committee for March (Egypt Exploration Society, Lucy Gura Archive, Box I c, 13 ("received 31March /[18]98")). In this report, he outlines his intentions to excavate at the cemeteries that they found between Denderah and Hu the next year.

[19] W. M. F. PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva. The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu, 1898–9*, *Memoir EEF* 20, London 1901 (hereafter W. M. F. PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva*).

[20] This excursion is described in their letters (M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, p. 263; EAD., *Letters*, pp. 164–165). University College London, Petrie Notebook 7A preserves the notes from this tenting trip (scans 3–8). These notes are not as detailed as the notes for the trip from Hu to Abydos of 1899. They do, however, include a map that FLINDERS copied for the occasion with a note for an Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery and Coptic cemeteries mentioned in their letters. They also include some copies of the reliefs at the temples and tombs at Athribis including the famous zodiac tomb. On this tenting trip, they also went to visit sites north of Abydos that JOHN GARSTANG was currently excavating: Bet Khallaf and Mahasna.

[21] W. M. F. PETRIE, *Athribis*, *BSAE* 14, London 1908.

[22] M. L. BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, London 2012, pp. 346–348. RANDALL-MACIVER and MACE were working on the extreme west of the Hu cemetery field, in cemeteries Y and YS (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva*, pp. 31–32). While they were away, MACE found extraordinary tombs dating to the Second Intermediate Period. The Second Intermediate Period cemetery was designated YS and situated south of Y (J. BOURRIAU, *Cemetery Y*, pp. 43–44).

[23] Griffith Institute, Petrie Journals 1898–1899 [Hu – Part 2], p. 51.

[24] Egypt Exploration Society, Lucy Gura Archive, Box I c, p. 17 ("Report C Feb 1899").

[25] Although RICHARD KARL LEPSIUS had copied scenes from a few of these tombs (*LD* II, pp. 177–181; *LD* II, Bl. 113–114), it was not until 1975 that a formal epigraphic project recorded them in full, see T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)*, Stockholm 1994, pp. 24–27.

cally for the sake of finding future archaeological work.

Their most reliable foreman and confidant 'ALI MUHAMMAD ES-SUEFI accompanied them on this trip. 'ALI himself had a distinguished career in archaeology[26]. He had first worked with FLINDERS at Meidum in 1890[27]. He continued to work with the PETRIES for much of their time in Upper Egypt, briefly with GUY BRUNTON at Qau and Badari, and with OLIVER MYERS at Armant[28]. In addition to his skills at excavation, both PETRIE and BRUNTON noted 'ALI's talents in finding archaeological sites in the desert[29]. Although these skills were surely missed in the excavation at Hu, they would also have made him a great benefit in prospecting for sites on the tenting trip.

These three people who were pioneers of Egyptian archaeology nevertheless made an unprepossessing sight to see on their journey across the desert for these five days. We fortunately have the eye witness testimony of ÉMILE AMÉLINEAU who encountered them on the road outside of Abydos. Recalling the meeting in a later publication, he remarked that he would never have guessed who they were:

> "...on the way, in the village of El-Khâdrah, after having passed the temple of Seti I, I met a small caravan, composed of two donkeys: on the first of these docile animals, a lady was mounted and near her walked, with naked feet in Turkish slippers, a man with unkempt beard, of very brown complexion, whom I took for a Greek mercanti; a servant rode the second donkey and followed the travelling couple. I attached no importance to this encounter, for I was far from suspecting that the travellers whom I had met and whose tent I saw set up further on, opposite the site that I had explored that very year, were no other than M. and Mme Flinders Petrie."[30]

Abydos was the trip's ultimate destination, a site that FLINDERS had visited once before during a voyage up the Nile with FRANCIS LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH in 1886[31]. Fatefully, it was on the 1899 trip that FLINDERS came to learn more about AMÉLINEAU's excavations at Umm el-Qaab and the mismanagement of his workforce. Although their personal appearance was likely due to the PETRIES' habitual parsimony, it also may have served their interests. The documentation shows that they wanted to avoid AMÉLINEAU if possible.

Planning their Itinerary

The documentation shows that a certain amount of planning went into the tenting trip. In a letter written on the day before the trip, FLINDERS estimates that it would be 20–30 miles along the desert[32]. How he arrived at this figure reveals something about the methodology for this survey. The actual distance is 26–27 miles (41.8–43.5 km). A few days before their trip, he wrote in his notebook an itinerary of names of villages along the route that they would take and included estimated distances between these villages (Tab. 1). The first column contains the names of villages on the itinerary. The figures to the right of the village names are incorrect for distances in either miles or kilometres between each. They are appropriate, however, for the distances in hours of travel time between the villages along most of the route: The average speed for a healthy adult walking at a constant rate on sand is approximately 3.1 mph (5.0 km per hour)[33]. The pace that FLINDERS calculated may have been slower. This technique of reckoning the distance may have been necessary because FLINDERS likely did not have any maps of the route. In 1899, the cartography of Egypt was still in its adolescence[34]. Moreo-

[26] M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 188, 226–228, 247, Pl. 41; ST. QUIRKE, *Interwoven Destinies. Egyptian and English in the Labour of Archaeology, 1880–2007*, in: A. EL DESOUKY/N. BREHONY (eds.), *British-Egyptian Relations from Suez to the Present Day*, London 2007, pp. 264–266 (hereafter ST. QUIRKE, *Interwoven Destinies*); ID., *Hidden Hands*, pp. 75–79, 282, 284, 290, 292, 301–302.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

[28] K. THOMPSON/G. MILLER, *The Petrie Connection. KMT Chats with Egyptologist & Biographer Margaret Drower*, in: *KMT* 7, 1996, pp. 36–37.

[29] M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 227, 247, 275, 327, 361; ST. QUIRKE, *Interwoven Destinies*, p. 272 note 36, citing G. BRUNTON, *Qau and Badari* I, *BSAE* 44, London 1927, p. 1.

[30] É. AMÉLINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos, Second campagne, 1896–1897*, Paris 1902, p. ii, translated in B. J. KEMP, *Abydos*, in: T. G. H. JAMES (ed.), *Excavating in Egypt. The Egypt Exploration Society 1882–1982*, Chicago 1982, p. 71.

[31] M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 108–109. His notes from this first trip to Abydos are in University College London, Petrie Notebook 122, pp. 55–58 (scans 29–31). They do not have much new information; rather they show that FLINDERS visited the usual sites: the temple of Seti I, Shunet ez-Zebib, and Kom es-Sultan.

[32] Griffith Institute, Petrie Journals 1898–1899 [Hu – Part 1], p. 44 (dated 27. 2. 1899).

[33] A. S. LEICHT/R. G. CROWTHER, *Pedometer Accuracy during Walking over Different Surfaces*, in: *Medicine & Science in Sports & Exercise* 39, no. 10, 2007, table 3 ("Walking Speed: Dry Sand").

[34] It was not until a few years later that maps of any accuracy were available: the cadastral maps in 1904 (H. G. LYONS, *The Cadastral Survey of Egypt 1892–1907*, Cairo 1908, pp. 359–367) and the larger scale topographic maps in 1906/1907 (G. W. MURRAY, *The Survey of Egypt, 1898–1948, Survey Department Paper* 50, Cairo 1950, p. 55). Before this time, the "irrigation maps" were the only ones available, from which the maps in tourist guidebooks were

ver, his idiosyncratic spellings of the place names in Latin script are not found on any of the contemporary maps[35]. The itinerary shows that Flinders had consulted local knowledge of the approximate distances in units of travel time. An erroneous distance between el-Khalifa and el-'Araba (actual distance 4 miles, 5.5 kilometres), an error in the order between the villages el-Ghabat and el-Khalifa, and the neglected names for other villages that they would encounter, show that their sources were not completely accurate. The names written in the middle column are furthermore corrections to place names that Flinders made after the list was drawn up. We see, therefore, that the Petries saw the benefit of consulting local knowledge but also the necessity of double checking this information by personal observation[36].

Tab. 1 Flinders' planned itinerary[37]

Arague	2	Harageh	خرقة
Ghara't	2 ½	–Ga'ara Naga Safar	غرات
El Ka'amat	½		ال كعمة
El Deir	½		ال دير
Nowahid	½		نواحد
El 'Amra	2		ال عمرة
Ghabat			
El Khalifeh	2	خلافة	[sic] رحلا حبر
Arabah	1 ½		[sic] عزابة
	11 ½		

Hilda's notes also contain a summary of the trip's itinerary. At the beginning of Hilda's diary concerning the trip, she notes where the party stayed overnight (Tab. 2).

Tab. 2 Hilda's itinerary[38]

	2		El Ga'ara
	3	}	El Ghabat
March	4		
	5		Nawahed
	6		

This information is useful for gaining an idea of how the trip progressed. They covered most of the distance in two days, reaching South Abydos, labelled "El Ghabat", at the end of their second day[39]. The 4th and 5th of March were spent in investigating Abydos and the high desert behind it. This pace of travel (covering 25 km on the 2nd of March and 20 km on the 3rd of March) would have allowed them some time to investigate the archaeological sites that they encountered. They returned by the same route on the 5th and 6th of March. It is not clear from the notes, however, whether they did in fact return to double check any of the sites encountered before or simply returned in all haste to Hu.

Their Survey Methods

Flinders' own comments about making such a survey found in the British Museum manual *How to Observe Archaeology. Suggestions for Travellers in the Near and Middle East*, 1st edition published in 1920, are revealing concerning their methods and the sources of information for discovering new archaeological sites:

> "It is better when on unknown ground to plot a map as you go, so that no misunderstanding of notes can arise after. If a squared block cannot be used, at least draw the bearings and distances roughly, writing in the amounts. This should be plotted up accurately in the evening. ... Inquire about antiquities whenever stopping. When camping, villagers usually come up to see who it is; then tell them the directions of the places around. They will ask how you know; show them the map, and they are puzzled; talk over all the names a few miles round, and then anything notable in the district may be remarked, and inquiries made. Several men together help each other to remember, and bring out more remarks. Sometimes an intelligent man will describe all the antiquities he knows in the district: this should be followed closely on the map, and difficulties resolved at once, so as to get a clear record noted.

compiled (J. Ball, *The Description de l'Égypte and the Course of the Nile between Isna and Girga*, in: *BIE* 14, 1932, pp. 136–139). These maps do not represent distances accurately.

35 For the contemporary maps, see below, note 42. The village names also do not appear or are spelled differently on maps in the tourist guidebooks of the time: *Murrays' Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt*, *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan*, and *Baedeker's Egypt and the Sudan Handbook for Travellers*.

36 W. M. F. Petrie, *Method*, in: *How to Observe in Archaeology. Suggestions for Travellers in the Near and Middle East*, London 1920, pp. 13–25 (hereafter W. M. F. Petrie, *Method*).

37 University College London, Petrie Notebook 4, scan 2. The rest of this page appears to be phrases copied in Arabic script that have nothing to do with the itinerary.

38 Griffith Institute, Petrie Journals 1898–1899, Hu – Part 3, p. 105.

39 M. S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 250–251.

> If travelling by camel, it is practicable to diverge widely on foot, if objects are looked for well ahead. A foot track diverging 4.5 degrees, and then converging likewise, will easily keep in touch with a baggage camel. Fix on the camping-place in the morning, and let everyone know of it, so that if accidentally parted all can rejoin by night."[40]

Moreover, the PETRIES provide indications of the dynastic date for many of the archaeological features that they encountered[41]. It is therefore apparent that they did not merely record the hearsay about antiquities at each site, but investigated them as well.

Tab. 3 Key to documentation of the survey

F. P.	FLINDERS PETRIE'S Notebook	Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, Notebook 4, scans 2, 4–8
H. P.	HILDA PETRIE'S "Pocket Diary"	Griffith Institute, Oxford University. Petrie Journals 1898–1899 [Hu – Part 3], pp. 105–106
Notes (H. P.)	HILDA PETRIE'S Loose Sheet Notes	Griffith Institute, Oxford University. Petrie Journals 1898–1899 [Hu – Part 3], pp. 142–145, 164–166

The Documentation

FLINDERS' notes about the tenting trip are in his last field notebook from the season at Hu, reused for the first part of the first season at Abydos (Tab. 3). HILDA'S notes are in her diary from the excavations at Hu (Tab. 3).

Anyone who works with these notebooks will have observed that HILDA'S handwriting is much easier to read than her husband's. Thankfully, therefore, the notes in her diary are nearly the duplicate of FLINDERS' notes. Her copy is in fact essential to deciphering many of FLINDERS' illegible scrawls and abbreviations. Nevertheless, HILDA only copied a part of the notes into her diary; they cease early in the trip's second day. Loose sheet notes found inserted in her diary provide the same information about the first day and more about the rest of the trip (Tab. 3). Although these loose sheets are not written in her typically clear handwriting, the hand is sufficiently similar to that of the diary to show that the notes belong to HILDA. We can suppose that HILDA intended to transcribe notes about the second and third days into her diary later, but she never managed it. The transcription below provides the collated notes for the entire journey.

It is clear that while they were recording the archaeological remains, the PETRIES wanted to be able to find them again in the future. From the geographic information in the notes, it is possible to construct a map of their archaeological survey (Figs. 1 and 2)[42]. In

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[40] W. M. F. PETRIE, *Method*, pp. 13–14.

[41] FLINDERS and HILDA regularly note the dynastic dates as Roman numerals in the notebooks. In the notes presented here, the PETRIES record no dynastic dates later than the Eighteenth Dynasty. They do, however, refer to terms like "Late Roman". These dates must come from a recognition of general pottery types from different periods, for example those illustrated in W. M. F. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, London 1904, p. 16, Fig. 12 (hereafter W. M. F. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims*); and ID., *Method*, ill. 13. About the dynastic dates in the notebooks for PETRIE'S excavations at Abadiyah and Hu, JANINE BOURRIAU warns us: "Unfortunately, pottery was often, both by Mace and Petrie, simply categorized, and not by shape but by date, as for example, V–XII, XII, XII–XVIII, or XVIII painted. At that time, it was assumed that a pottery type, once dated could be used to date all contexts in which it occurred all over Egypt. ... As a rule the dates given in the notebooks to pottery, without corroboration from surviving examples of the pottery itself, or reference to the published corpus, cannot be considered sufficient evidence on which to date a grave." (J. BOURRIAU, *Cemetery Y*, p. 42). Nevertheless, the dates probably represent a fair estimate of the broad dates of sites encountered based on PETRIE'S own experience of ceramic forms from excavating in Egypt for almost twenty years by the time of the survey.

[42] In order to interpret the PETRIES' notes and construct the map, I have used several geographical resources, including: Public Works Ministry, *Inspection General of Irrigation*, 1:100,000 scale (Cairo 1890) kindly provided by Cornell University Library: "Girgâ Province 1890" http://cornell.worldcat.org/oclc/75972265 (hereafter GIRGA1890); "Kena Province 1890" http://cornell.worldcat.org/oclc/75972263 (hereafter KENA1890); J. C. Ross, *Maps of Upper Egypt in Systems. Accompanying Colonel Ross's Notes on Distribution of Water and Maintenance of Works*, Cairo 1892, held at Stanford University Library, http://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/2353014: "No 8 Map of the Sâhil Farshut System" (hereafter SAHILFARSHUT1892); "No 19 Map of the South Suhâg System" (hereafter SOUTHSUHAG1892); Survey of Egypt, *Egypt*, 1:50,000 scale, Cairo 1907–1912, kindly provided by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Center for Middle Eastern Landscapes (CAMEL) http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/camel/: "Beni Hamil Sheet XX–IV S.E.", 1906, CAMEL_ID: 1001070 (hereafter SEGY1906_20–4); "(Naga Hamadi) Sheet XX–V S.E.", 1907, CAMEL_ID: 1001115 (hereafter SEGY1907_20–5); "Desert South of Dishna Sheet XXI–VI S.E.", 1906, CAMEL_ID: 1013202 (hereafter SEGY1906_21–5); "Desert South of Farshût Sheet XXI–V", 1906, CAMEL_ID: 1013203 (hereafter SEGY1906_21–6); Survey of Egypt, *Egypt*, 1:100,000 scale, Cairo 1936, provided by CAMEL: "Portions of Sheets 36/66 and 36/72 'Nag' Hammâdi'", 1936, CAMEL_ID: 1002055 (hereafter NAGHAMMADI1936); Survey of Egypt, *Egypt*, 1:25,000 scale, Cairo 1979: "ابو شوشى", Cairo 1979 (hereafter ABUSHUSHA1979). Additionally, the satellite imagery in Google Earth was extremely helpful: http://earth.google.com.

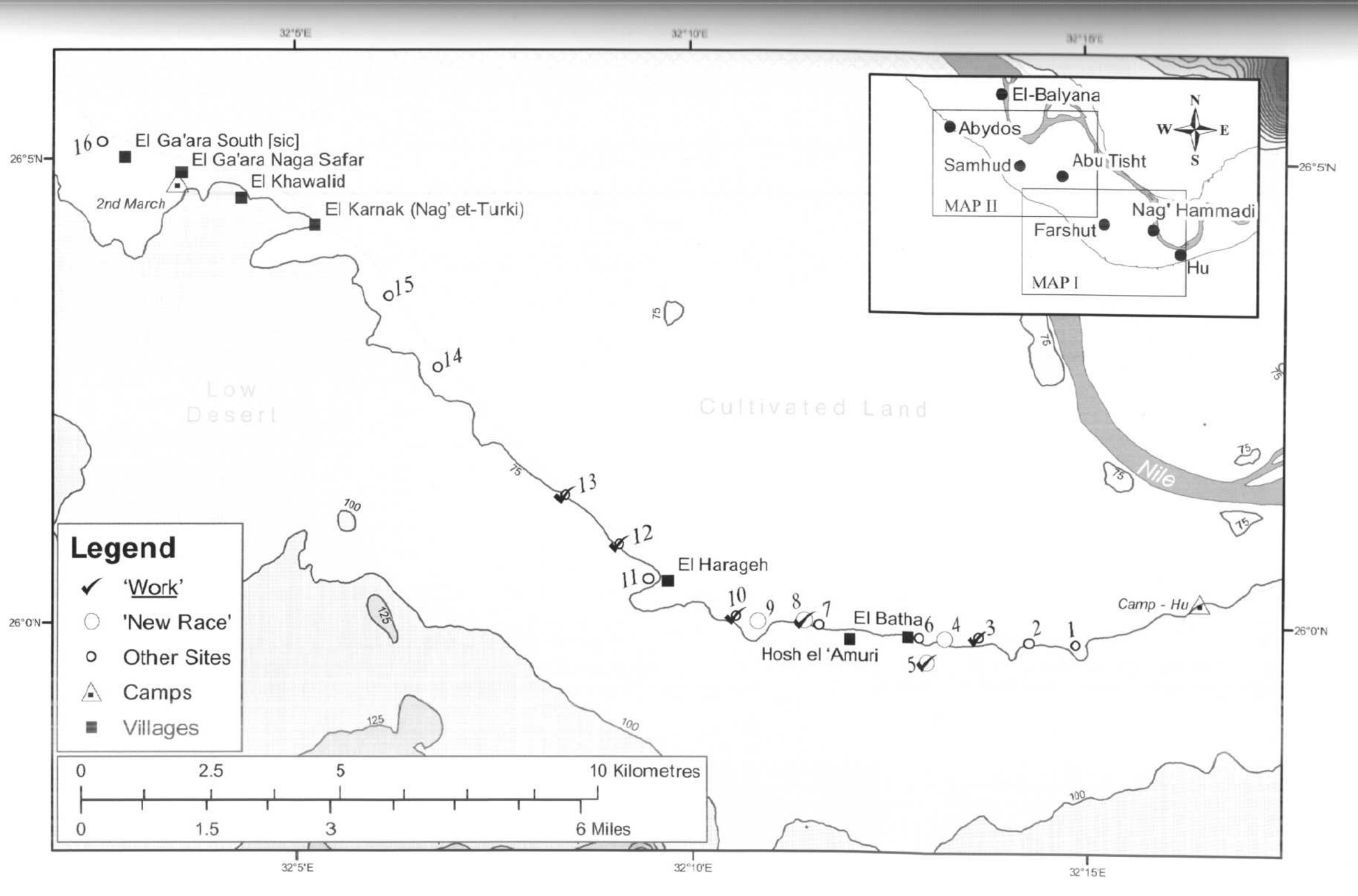


Fig. 1 Map of the PETRIES' "tenting trip" survey (first of two). Village names are spelled according to the PETRIES' notes. Topographical contours are measured in metres above sea level. These are derived from Shuttle Radar Topography (SRTM) Version 4.1, Entity ID: SRTM3N26E031V1 (http://earthexplorer.usgs.gov/)

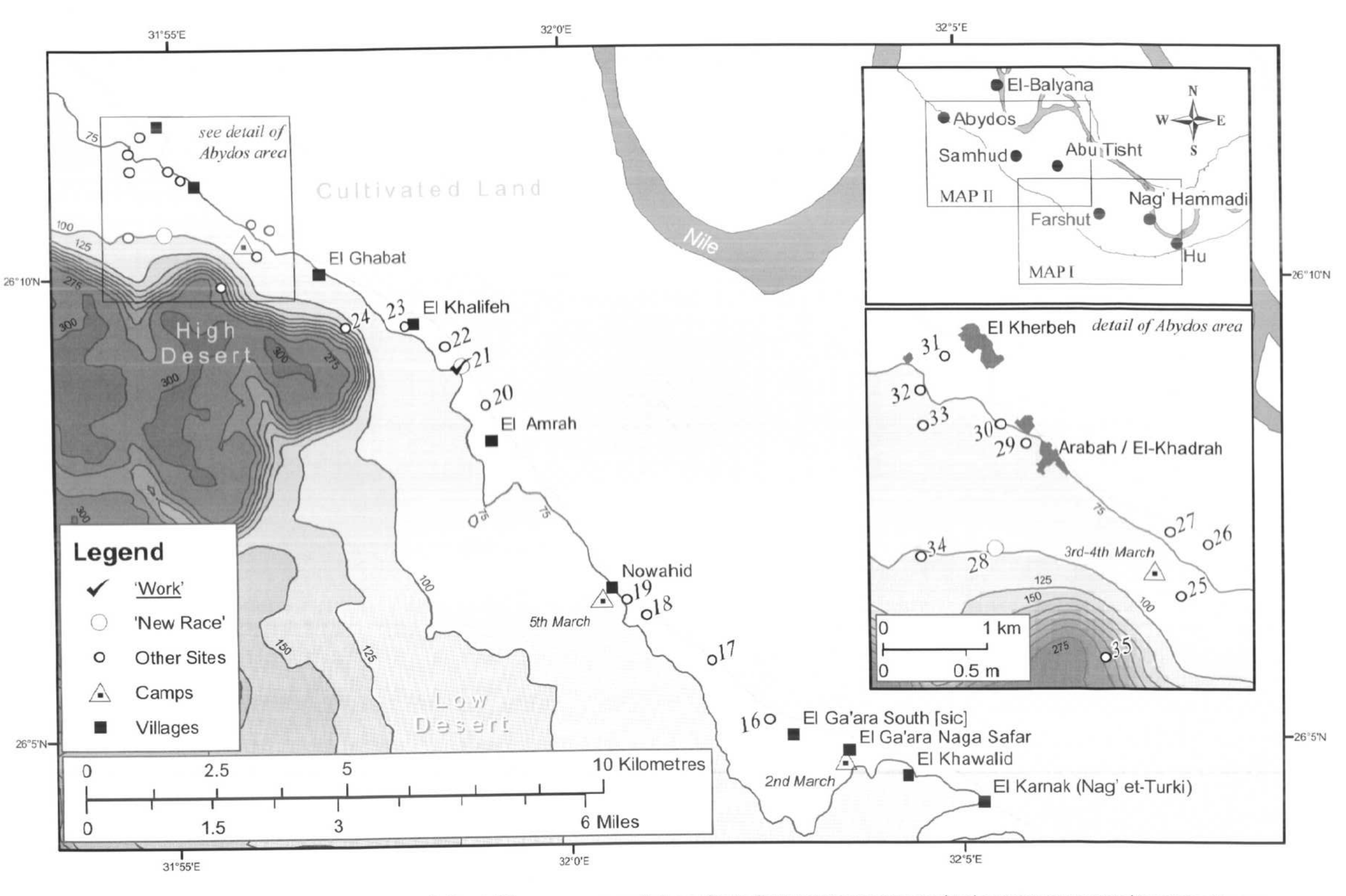


Fig. 2 Map of the PETRIES' "tenting trip" survey (second of two). Village names are spelled according to the PETRIES' notes. Topographical contours are measured in metres above sea level. These are derived from Shuttle Radar Topography (SRTM) Version 4.1, Entity ID: SRTM3N26E031V1 (http://earthexplorer.usgs.gov/)

order to organize this data, I have grouped their notes into "sites". Although the PETRIES use this term in their notes only twice in designating a "town site", it seems a justifiable emendation. In his *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, published in 1904, FLINDERS uses the term "site" in reference to ancient towns, cemeteries, and prehistoric encampments[43]. Moreover, for the notes belonging to a "site", FLINDERS seems to have purposely organized information in his notebook along these lines: The information relevant to the location of the "site" occurs first. This usually consists of a name of a village, a notable manmade or natural feature of the landscape, or a distance in miles from a village or feature[44]. Then, he describes the archaeological remains after the geographic information. If his description takes up more than one line of text, each line subsequent to the locational line is indented. FLINDERS was therefore intrinsically organizing the information according to location. Additionally, I have provided the name for the site in current literature if it is known.

The Significance of their Archaeological Survey

Despite the brevity of the PETRIES' notes, surprisingly a lot of information is contained in them. The most interesting thing is that they attest to a concentration of archaeological sites in an area of Egypt that has otherwise had limited archaeological investigation up until the present day. In the five days of their survey, the PETRIES observed 35 sites, 29 sites excluding the main area of Abydos. Since their survey, the part of their itinerary that has seen the most research has been the 7.5 km stretch of the desert between el-'Amra and Abydos (15 sites, see Tab. 4 at the end of the article). Yet even within this part of the PETRIES' itinerary they saw some archaeological remains in 1899 that were never observed again. For the rest of the itinerary, the number of observed sites (20) stands in contrast to a paucity of published research (Tab. 4).

By the time of the PETRIES' survey, AUGUSTE MARIETTE's extensive excavations at Abydos were already long published[45]. AMÉLINEAU was likewise in the process of finishing the first volumes on his excavations there[46]. In the area of their survey south of Abydos, in contrast, only a few sparsely documented excavations had taken place before the PETRIES arrived on the scene, especially at el-'Amra. JACQUES DE MORGAN had supervised excavations there in 1896, from which he published a few notes and drawings[47]. AMÉLINEAU had sent workers to excavate at el-'Amra during his work in Abydos in 1895–1896, reputedly at FLINDERS PETRIE's own instigation[48]. Brief notes from this excavation ended up in the publication of AMÉLINEAU's work at Abydos[49]. Elsewhere, DE MORGAN's

[43] FLINDERS' own comments about the identification of sites in archaeological prospection are helpful references for understanding what the PETRIES' notes mean: Towns sites: "A town site is always recognised by its mounds of crumbling mud brick, strewn with potsherds if in Upper Egypt, or with burnt red bricks on the later mounds of the Delta" (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims*, pp. 10–11); Cemeteries and Prehistoric sites: "The cemetery sites on the desert have always been more or less plundered anciently. A prehistoric site may have no external trace, as the blown sand may cover it so evenly that there is no suspicion of anything lying underneath. But on a gravel surface there are generally some indications left of hollows of the graves, and scraps of broken pottery left about by the plunderers. The historic cemeteries are generally easier to see, as they are in rising ground, and the holes of the tomb pits show on the surface. The difficulty is not to find the site of a cemetery, but to find a grave in it which still contains anything. As a rule, any tomb pit which appears still undisturbed has been reached from elsewhere" (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Methods and Aims*, pp. 11–12).

[44] FLINDERS must have calculated these distances by keeping the time of their progress, as he suggests in *How to Observe in Archaeology. Suggestions for Travellers in the Near and Middle East*: "Where the maps are too small, or deficient, a continuous register of time should be made, noting the minute of starting and of stopping; this over known distances will serve to give the value over the unknown. Note whether mounted or walking, and the compass bearing of the track; also the bearings of known points around, whenever stopping. Without any known bearings pacing and compass used carefully may go over the roughest ground without five per cent. error in the day" (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Method*, p. 12).

[45] A. MARIETTE, *Abydos. Description des fouilles éxécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville* I, Paris 1869 (hereafter A. MARIETTE, *Abydos* I); ID., *Abydos. Description des fouilles éxécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville* II, Paris 1880 (hereafter A. MARIETTE, *Abydos* II); ID., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*, Paris 1880 (hereafter A. MARIETTE, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*).

[46] É. AMÉLINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos. 1895–1896*, Paris 1899 (hereafter É. AMÉLINEAU, *Nouvelles fouilles* I); ID., *Le tombeau d'Osiris. Monographie de la découverte faite en 1897–1898*, Paris 1899 (hereafter É. AMÉLINEAU, *Tombeau d'Osiris*).

[47] J. DE MORGAN, *Récherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* I. *L'age de pierre et des métaux*, Paris 1896, pp. 84–86, *passim* (herafter J. DE MORGAN, *Récherches* I); M. FOUQUET, *Note sur les squelletes d'El-'Amrah*, in: J. DE MORGAN, *Récherches* I, pp. 241–270; J. DE MORGAN, *Récherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* II. *Éthnographie préhistorique et tombeau royal de Negadah*, Paris 1897, pp. 34, 132–133, 363–364, *passim* (hereafter J. DE MORGAN, *Récherches* II).

[48] É. AMÉLINEAU, *Nouvelles fouilles* I, p. 145. RANDALL-MACIVER and MACE stated it was at DE MORGAN's instigation (D. RANDALL-MACIVER/A. C. MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899–1901, Memoir EEF* 23, London 1902, p. 2 [hereafter D. RANDALL-MACIVER/A. C. MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*]).

[49] É. AMÉLINEAU, *Nouvelles fouilles* I, pp. 145–153, 259–268. GEORGES DARESSY also published a few brief observations about a tomb found by AMÉLINEAU's workers (G. DARESSY, *Exploration archéologique de la montagne d'Abydos*, in: *BIE* 9, 1898, pp. 279–281).

notes about prehistoric necropoleis at el-Karnak (Nag' et-Turki), el-Hagg Salam, and Gebel el-'Araqi probably resulted from some excavations there during his tenure as head of the Antiquities Service[50].

Since the PETRIES' time, several archaeological projects have also worked and continue to work in the area between Abydos and el-'Amra. These are well known and current missions continue to produce publications on their research (Tab. 4). For the area between el-'Amra and Hu, in contrast, the published research is limited and not well known: M. A. H. ASFOUR published brief notes about an Antiquities Service excavation at Deir en-Nawahid for eight weeks in 1947[51]. The Belgian Middle Prehistoric Project examined several prehistoric sites in this region from 1975–1977 and excavated an Acheulean site near Sinki (Nag' Ahmad Khalifa)[52]. For the area between el-Ga'ra and Hu, some 25 km of the low desert, the Belgian Survey only published a brief reference to one Predynastic site[53]. In 1983, DIANA PATCH conducted an archaeological survey in the low desert south of Abydos as far as el-Ga'ra that encountered several of those sites seen by the PETRIES; most of the survey's notes are published in her doctoral dissertation[54]. It also appears that the Egyptian Ministry of State for Antiquities Affaires currently possesses four registered sites in this region (Tab. 4)[55].

Some completely unpublished excavations have also occurred on sites within this area of the PETRIES' survey. The PETRIES' notes indicate that representatives of the Antiquities Service (i. e. "the Museum") were undertaking excavations at two sites in 1899. FLINDERS makes a point of what he calls this "plundering" in his letters. According to FLINDERS' notes, a representative of the Antiquities Service, SMAIN MUSI, was excavating at Site 14, which is probably the modern site el-Hagg Salam. There exists a set of objects in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo from this site which were registered in 1899 and therefore likely from SMAIN MUSI's excavation[56]. The excavation that FLINDERS attributes in his notes to "Abu Selim" at el-'Amra is probably the same excavation that he mentions in his letter as being conducted "by a native reis". A budgeted expense for excavation at el-'Amra in a nearly contemporary report of the Antiquities Service shows that work was being done there[57]. AMÉLINEAU also noted that immediately after his excavations in 1896, his workers returned and looted the necropolis[58]. From elsewhere in the survey area, brief records of other unpublished excavations also exist. For a site called Abu 'Umuri, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo has many Predynastic objects that came from the 1936 excavations of MITIAS FAM[59]. In the area of Baraghit, JOHN GARSTANG's expedition at Abydos dug a few tombs during his 1908–1909 season, about which there is very little documentation[60]. Other contemporary travellers' notes and government documents confirm the fact that official or unofficial excavations

[50] J. DE MORGAN, *Récherches* I, p. 88; ID. *Récherches* II, pp. 33–34, 113. About his career as director of the Antiquities Service from 1892–1897, see A. JAUNAY, *Mémoires de Jacques de Morgan 1857–1924. Souvenirs d'un archéologue*, Paris 1997, pp. 331–427; M. BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, London 2012, p. 386.

[51] M. A. M. ASFOUR, *From One of My Old Diaries. Deir - en - Nawahid*, in: J. RUFFLE/G. A. GABALLA/K. A. KITCHEN (eds.), *Orbis aegyptiorum speculum = Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman*, Warminster 1979, pp. 4–11. Objects from these excavations were registered in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo's Journal d'Entrée: JdE 89584–89598. I am indebted to JASMIN EL SHEZALY, Registrar of the Egyptian Museum, and her assistants for allowing me access to the Museum's registrar database several times during my stay in Cairo in 2012.

[52] Sites 76/36, 76/37, 76/38, 76/41, 76/43, 77/1: P. M. VERMEERSCH ET AL., *Prospection préhistorique entre Asyut et Nag' Hammadi (Égypte)*, in: *Bulletin de la société belge d'anthropologie préhistorique* 88, 1977 (hereafter P. VERMEERSCH ET AL., *Prospection préhistorique*); P. M. VERMEERSCH, in: P. M. VERMEERSCH (ed.), *Palaeolithic Living Sites in Upper and Middle Egypt, Egyptian Prehistory Monographs* 2, Leuven 2000, pp. 35–45, 57–73.

[53] Site 76/45: P. VERMEERSCH ET AL., *Prospection préhistorique*, p. 117.

[54] Her sites 4, 11–25, 62: D. C. PATCH, *The Origin and Early Development of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt. A Regional Study*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1991, esp. map 5–7 (hereafter D. C. PATCH, *Origin*). Thanks to DIANA PATCH for providing me copies of notes not included in her dissertation.

[55] CENTER FOR DOCUMENTATION OF CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE (CULTNAT), *Atlas of Archaeological Sites in Sohag Governorate*, 2005; ID., *Atlas of Archaeological Sites in Qena Governorate*, 2005, see http://www.cultnat.org.

[56] JdE 34005–34014 were registered on 16. 12. 1899 and are listed as coming from "Cheikh el-Selam (Farchout)". The objects date to multiple periods, but none are obviously of the Fourth Dynasty.

[57] The Antiquities Service report for the following year includes expenses for excavations at "El-Hamrah" (G. MASPERO, *Rapports sur la Marche du Service des Antiquités de 1899 à 1910*, Cairo 1912, p. 21).

[58] É. AMÉLINEAU, *Nouvelles fouilles* I, p. 151.

[59] Abu 'Umuri is a village near the PETRIES' Site 7. Site 7 may in fact be the same site as the Belgian ME 76/45. The objects from MITIAS FAM's excavations are registered under the numbers JdE 71303–71579. The excavations were not published. In recent years, several of these objects were on display in the Egyptian Museum (K. BARD, *From Farmers to Pharaohs. Mortuary Evidence for the Rise of Complex Society in Egypt, Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology* 2, Sheffield 1994, p. 13). The chronologically distinctive ceramic forms in this group appear to date mostly to the late Naqada II and Naqada III periods. One of the slate palettes from the group is inscribed with the name of a king Scorpion (P. KAPLONY, *Eine Schminkpalette von König Skorpion aus Abu 'Umûri (Untersuchung zur ältesten Horustitulatur)*, in: *Orientalia* 34, 1965, pp. 132–167).

[60] Baraghit is situated between the PETRIES' Sites 17 and 18. It corresponds to DIANA PATCH's sites S83-24 and S83-25 (*Origin*, pp. 391–

were being conducted in the sites between Hu and Abydos in the late nineteenth century[61]. The 'Gebel el-'Arak knife' is the most well-known artefact reputedly from this area[62]. Yet it cannot be the only object found in clandestine or official but unpublished excavations there. There may be many objects in the world's museums that were excavated in this area, but we have no information about their archaeological provenance[63].

From their letters, it is evident that the Petries were prospecting this area for sites for future excavation. Their notes provide an idea about which sites they saw as befitting this future work. Flinders wrote and underlined five notations of the word "work" around his notes about certain sites (Figs. 1 and 2). These "work" notations must be memoranda for Flinders that these sites were worthy of future excavation. The underlining of other passages without the accompanying word "work" in Flinders' notes may have a similar meaning.

It is noteworthy that half of the "work" sites are locations where they found "New Race" remains[64]. Flinders first articulated his New Race theory in the publication of his work at Naqada in 1896[65]. In that publication, he states that many of the cemeteries that he and John Quibell had excavated there belonged to a "race" of people who entered the Nile valley "between the Old and the Middle Kingdoms"[66]. In the following year, de Morgan pointedly critiqued this conclusion and proffered an interpretation of the material remains described by Petrie as prehistoric[67]. Their academic peers generally acknowledged de Morgan's arguments as sound, and Flinders eventually ceased using the term "New Race" after 1899[68]. Because the material culture that Flinders identified as "New Race" were in fact archaeological assem-

392). The only documentation remaining from Garstang's excavation are brief descriptions of the contents of a few tombs at a place labelled "Barahid", written by Garstang's assistant Horst Schliephack. The Garstang Museum of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool keeps these notes (consulted 30. 8. 2012) as well as some objects in the collection from this excavation (*Egyptian and Nubian Sites*, http://www.liv.ac.uk/sace/garstang-museum/museumarchives/egypt-nubia.htm#barabit), mistakenly labelled "Barabit"; Personal communication, Stephen Snape, 30. 8. 2012).

[61] Amélineau noted that Mariette's *reis* was familiar with the sites from north of Abydos as far south as the area of Farshut (*Nouvelles fouilles* I, p. 9). This statement may imply that he had been digging in those places. George Daressy's map in the Collège de France includes notes about a site submitted to *sebbakh* digging at Nag' et-Turki (G. Daressy, *Atlas archéologique de l'Égypte*, CD-ROM, Paris 2005, "37. Nag' Hamadi Q[eneh]"). In 1910, the Egyptian Ministry of Finance published a list of *koms* which were no longer open for digging *sebbakh*. For Nag' Hammadi district, the list includes "Tells de Farchout" and "Tells de Hou" (Ministry of Finance, *Liste des Tells et Koms à Sebakh, Extrait du Journal du Gouvernement Égyptien du Samedi 19 Février 1910*, Cairo 1915, p. 16, held at Brooklyn Museum Library, Wilbour Library of Egyptology, Gift of Bernard V. Bothmer <http://library.brooklynmuseum.org:80/record=b645443~S2>). Many thanks to the Brooklyn Museum Library and the Brooklyn Museum Archives for letting me consult their collections.

[62] Louvre E 11517 (PM V, p. 107). The seller, Maurice Nahman, attributed the knife's origin to Gebel el-'Araqi (G. Bénédite, *Le couteau de Gebel el-'Arak. Étude sur un novel objet préhistorique acquis par le Musée du Louvre*, in: *MonPiot* 22, Paris 1916, p. 5). Nevertheless, some scholars have cast doubts on this provenance because of the apparent lack of information about the site (E. Délange, *Le poignard égyptien dit "du Gebel el-Arak"*, *Collection Solo* 40, Paris 2009, p. 25). It may indeed have come from any of the Predynastic sites noted by the Petries in the area of el-'Araqi or Abu 'Umuri: Sites 4, 5, 8, or 9.

[63] For example, Charles Wilbour's notes and letters from his travels in Egypt in the late nineteenth century mention excavations in the *gebel* at el-'Araqi (Brooklyn Museum Archives, Wilbour Archival Collection, Notebooks [5.1.010]: 2K ("11/1888–6/1889"), p. 47, http://library.brooklynmuseum.org:80/record=b774931~S2; J. Capart (ed.), *Travels in Egypt [December 1880 To May 1891] Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour*, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1936, p. 525). From a dealer named Ga'dee, Wilbour purchased two items from unofficial excavations there: a blue faience figural scarab seal (number unknown), and a limestone statuette (Brooklyn Museum 16.238): Brooklyn Museum Archives, Wilbour Archival Collection, Notebooks [5.1.012]: 2M ("12/1890–"), pp. 18–19. Another example is a Middle Kingdom coffin, MFA 03.1631, for which the attributed provenance ist "Farshut" (E. Brovarski, *A coffin from Farshût in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, in: L. H. Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*, Providence 1998, pp. 37–69.

[64] I would like to thank Stephen Quirke for the correct interpretation of the Petries' abbreviation for the "New Race" in their notes.

[65] Petrie's "New Race" theory should not be confused with Petrie's "Dynastic Race" theory, for the full articulation of which see W. M. F. Petrie, *The Making of Egypt*, London 1939, pp. 65–79. Racial theory was at the heart of much of his historical and archaeological research (N. A. Silberman, *Petrie's Head. Eugenics and Near Eastern Archaeology*, in: A. B. Kehoe/M. B. Emmerichs (eds.), *Assembling the Past. Studies in the Professionalization of Archaeology*, Albuquerque 1999, pp. 69–79, esp. 74–75). In fact we can see Petrie beginning to espouse the "Dynastic Race" theory around the same time as the "New Race" theory (W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos*, London 1896, p. 9; Id., *Prof. Petrie's Address*, in: *Egypt Exploration Fund Report, 1899–1900*, Bristol 1900, pp. 21–23; Id., *Migrations (The Huxley Lecture for 1906)*, in: *JAI* 36, 1906, pp. 199–200). Petrie's theory of the "Dynastic Race" outlived that of the "New Race", but it was still abandoned by scholarship in the twentieth century (S. Savage, *Recent Trends in the Archaeology of Predynastic Egypt*, in: *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, 2001, p. 109; S. R. Zakrzewski, *Population Continuity or Population Change. Formation of the Ancient Egyptian State*, in: *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 132, 2007, pp. 501–509). On Petrie's New Race theory, see D. Challis, *The Archaeology of Race: the Eugenic Ideas of Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie*, London/New York 2013, pp. 167–185

[66] W. M. F. Petrie/J. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, *ERA* 1, London 1896, p. 61, *passim*.

[67] J. de Morgan, *Récherches* II, pp. 13–18.

[68] W. Needler, *Henri de Morgan (1854–1909). A Bibliographical Note*, in: S. Schoske/H. Altenmüller/D. Wildung (eds.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses, München 1985*,

blages of the Predynastic Naqada culture, we might use these "New Race" notes as a proxy for the presence of Naqada cultural remains discovered in the survey, with unfortunately little or no indications about what phases of the Naqada may be represented[69]. The "New Race" sites are found throughout the area of the PETRIES' survey but notably to the west of Hu where Predynastic remains have not yet been recognized (Figs. 1 and 2).

HILDA's notes provide the most information about their visit to Abydos and FLINDERS' notes are mostly silent for this part of their trip. Her notes have some important information about the site. For example, they show that some monuments that MARIETTE found in his excavations in the Osiris Temple enclosure were left on site until 1899, some forty years later. In South Abydos, HILDA made some especially important observations about the contemporary state of the archaeological site[70]. They include a hitherto unmentioned rock enclosure on the mountain behind the Ahmose Terrace Temple. HILDA was inclined to identify this as a sanctuary. Her observations that there was Eighteenth Dynasty pottery around it suggest a connection with the Ahmose mortuary complex on the low desert below. HILDA's notes also include a description of the Tetisheri stela[71]. Then this stela must have already been uncovered in 1899. In the publication of FLINDERS' student CHARLES T. CURRELLY about his excavations in the Tetisheri pyramid in 1902, there is no mention of the stela being previously uncovered[72]. If it was indeed visible on the desert surface in March 1899, then it is very likely that AMÉLINEAU's workers or someone else had recently tried to remove it from the pyramid only to abandon it on the surface for some reason.

Finally the documentation from the PETRIES' tenting trip sheds light on a controversial but pivotal moment in the history of Egyptian archaeology, namely the dispute between FLINDERS PETRIE and ÉMILE AMÉLINEAU over Abydos. AMÉLINEAU had been excavating at Abydos since 1895 and discovered the Early Dynastic royal cemetery at Umm el-Qaab[73]. FLINDERS had unsuccessfully applied to excavate at Abydos during these years of AMÉLINEAU's concession[74]. From the survey's documentation, it appears that the PETRIES' tenting trip culminated in some ar-

Beihefte SAK 1, Hamburg 1988, pp. 71–73; A. JAUNAY, *Mémoires de Jacques de Morgan 1857–1924. Souvenirs d'un archéologue*, Paris 1997, p. 411. The PETRIES' survey notes show that the "New Race" terminology was still vivid in FLINDERS' thinking in 1899. FLINDERS' letters suggest that only after seeing the objects in the Giza Museum excavated by DE MORGAN from the "Tomb of Mena" at Naqada did he acknowledge DE MORGAN's conclusions (M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, p. 241). On the pages following the survey in Notebook 4 (scans 11–14), there are in fact notes and drawings of objects from this tomb. FLINDERS therefore may have seen this material in Cairo having freshly returned from Upper Egypt in March of 1899. He was forced to acknowledge DE MORGAN's arguments in the publication of his work from Abadiyeh and Hu two years later (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva*, pp. 2–3; K. SOWADA, *The Politics of Error. Flinders Petrie at Diospolis Parva*, in: *BACE* 7, 1996, pp. 89–96).

69 FLINDERS and QUIBELL identified all of the material assemblages of the Predynastic Period at Naqada as "New Race" in the publication of excavations there in 1896 (*Products of the New Race, Ballas*, in: W. M. F. PETRIE/J. QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–14). The site has material from KAISER's Naqada I–III phases (W. KAISER, *Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadakultur*, in: *Archaeologia Geographica* 6, 1957, pp. 69–77; K. BARD, *From Farmers to Pharaohs. Mortuary Evidence for the Rise of Complex Society in Egypt, Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology* 2, Sheffield 1994, pp. 46–49). It is apparent that by 1899 FLINDERS had accepted that these "New Race" objects were prehistoric or Predynastic (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egypt*, in: *Nature* 58, 1898, p. 31; ID., *Excavations at Abâdiyeh and Hû*, in: *EEF Archaeological Report 1898–1899*, 1899, pp. 1–3). But, there is no indication in *Diospolis Parva* that FLINDERS had, as of 1899, made any differentiation in the Predynastic material that would correspond to his later Amratian or Gerzean periods or had applied the "New Race" idea to explain the division between these two phases (S. HENDRICKX, *Predynastic – Early Dynastic Chronology*, in: E. HORNUNG/R. KRAUSS/D. A. WARBURTON (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology, HdO* 83, Leiden/Boston 2006, p. 55). Therefore, "New Race" in the survey notes can only mean "Naqada culture" to us.

70 It is strange that the PETRIES do not mention the tomb of Senwosret III in their notes. This must have been visible as a crater on the landscape in 1899. FLINDERS claimed in a later publication that he saw it "when first visiting the ground" (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Abydos* I. *1902, Memoir EEF* 22, London 1902, p. 1 [hereafter W. M. F. PETRIE, *Abydos* I]). Yet, ARTHUR WEIGALL mentioned that PETRIE discovered the area of the tomb during his first season working in Umm el-Qaab in winter 1899–1900 (E. R. AYRTON ET AL., *Abydos* III. *1904, Memoir EEF* 25, London 1904, p. 11 [hereafter E. R. AYRTON ET AL., *Abydos* III]).

71 The description of a "hard limestone shrine, queen seated, early XVIII[th Dynasty]" found in HILDA PETRIE's notes sounds very much like the Tetisheri stela: CG 34002 (E. AYRTON ET AL., *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 43–45, Pl. 3; PM V, p. 92). This identification is confirmed by the fact that HILDA next describes the Pyramid of Ahmose in her notes. These monuments are only 0.5 km away from each other in South Abydos. Her description of the stela as a "shrine" may indicate that the monument was still substantially covered by debris so that she could not discern what it really was. Nevertheless, the lunette with the seated depiction of queen Tetisheri was visible. FLINDERS' notebook mentions a brickwork building which is probably the Tetisheri pyramid. See below, note 164.

72 E. AYRTON ET AL., *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36.

73 É. AMÉLINEAU, *Nouvelles fouilles* I, pp. 57–272; ID., *Tombeau d'Osiris*.

74 A few years before the survey, FLINDERS had asked the Director of the Antiquities Service, EUGENE GRÉBAUT, for the rights to excavate at Abydos, and the Egypt Exploration Fund had already submitted an official application for the site (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty. 1900* I, *Memoir EEF* 18, London 1900, p. 2 [hereafter W. M. F. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs* I]; M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 251 n. 4, and 256 citing EEF committee minutes 7. 6. 1898 and 11. 4. 1899).

chaeological espionage: We have seen that AMÉLINEAU encountered the PETRIES on their first arrival in Abydos. When he learned who in fact they were, AMÉLINEAU invited them to see the excavations at Umm el-Qaab. FLINDERS' firstly tried to avoid letting AMÉLINEAU know he was coming to Abydos and, when that failed, secondly excused himself by stating that he was too busy looking at sites on the low desert[75]. In his "Journal" letter home, transcribed below, FLINDERS acknowledges that he intentionally avoided meeting AMÉLINEAU while trying to learn about the site to get it for himself! Their notebooks show that the PETRIES went around Abydos making observations about the archaeological remains and meeting AMÉLINEAU's subalterns. From their information gathering, FLINDERS apparently learned of AMÉLINEAU's neglect for the loss of artefacts through his workers and antiquities dealers. His notebook has a few lines that may include some of this information about objects from the excavation sold by local officials[76]. In his publications, FLINDERS added these accusations to AMÉLINEAU's prior reputation of having poor excavation technique[77]. PETRIE's accusations have remained in Egyptology's collective memory of AMÉLINEAU ever since[78]. Moreover, in the days following their trip, FLINDERS moved swiftly to appropriate Abydos from AMÉLINEAU[79].

The letters which FLINDERS wrote after their tenting trip illustrate well that he had changed his mind for the next season's excavation and Abydos would be his first choice. Nevertheless, it was not certain that FLINDERS would receive the permission to work at Abydos even up until the last minute, and so he had a contingency plan probably to work on the sites discovered on the tenting trip:

> "If we get Abydos we shall want every permission that can be had. But on any other site we shall want at least as much as in the last season, as I have every hope that our working party will be as large."[80]

In fact FLINDERS had to wait until GASTON MASPERO replaced VICTOR LORET as director of the Antiquities Service[81]. Eventually with MASPERO's blessing, the concession for Abydos was transferred to him toward the end of 1899[82]. The PETRIES' excavations there lasted over the next four years[83]. FLINDERS' apprehension that he would not get Abydos and perhaps have to excavate additional cemeteries near Hu may be one reason that the publication of *Diospolis Parva* was not completed until 1901, uncharacteristically late for PETRIE's publications. It appeared only after the first volume of the *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* was published in 1900.

Once the PETRIES started at Abydos in earnest, it appears that they never gave a second thought to many of the sites that they found on their tenting trip in 1899. This is unfortunate. They visited this area in a time when agricultural development and overpopula-

[75] "Il me répondit qu'il n'avait pas pu me prévenir, parce qu'il visitait en excursion toutes les localités de la rive gauche où il y avait des sépultures égyptiennes" (É. AMÉLINEAU, *Nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos. Seconde campagne 1896–1897*, Paris 1902, p. ii [hereafter É. AMÉLINEAU, *Nouvelles fouilles* II]).

[76] University College London, Petrie Notebook 4, scan 7. This page is transcribed in ST. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands*, p. 121.

[77] W. M. F. PETRIE, *Egypt Exploration Fund Report, 1899–1900*, 1899, pp. 23–24; ID., *Royal Tombs* I, pp. 1–2; ID., *Seventy Years*, p. 173.

[78] M. BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, London 2012, p. 17. AMÉLINEAU's publications show that he had perhaps more concern for proper documentation than he has been given credit for (M. ÉTIENNE, *Emile Amélineau (1850–1915). Le savant incompris*, in: *Archéo-Nil* 17, 2007, pp. 29–35; ST. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands*, pp. 107–108).

[79] FLINDERS submitted an application for Abydos as soon as he reached Cairo, and a friend, E. THOMPSON, lobbied for the site on FLINDERS' behalf through the British representative on the Museum committee, WILLIAM GARSTIN (Griffith Institute, Petrie Journals 1898–1899, Hu – Part I, 50 (Undated, March 1899)).

[80] Egypt Exploration Society, Lucy Gura Archive, Box I Envelope, 4 ("I c 28", not dated).

[81] M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, p. 255. LORET was dismissed on the 1st of November after a campaign against him (G. MASPERO, *Rapports sur la Marche du Service des Antiquités de 1899 à 1910*, Cairo 1912, p. 3; P. PIACENTINI/C. ORESENIGO, *La valle dei re riscoperta. I giornali di scavo di Victor Loret 1898–1899*, Milan 2004, pp. xviii–xxi). MASPERO's letters show that he was not favourably disposed towards AMÉLINEAU, and MASPERO furthermore had criticised him in print (M. PATANÈ, *L'importance de la correspondence de G. Maspero à E. Naville*, in: *GM* 152, 1996, p. 93; E. DAVID, *Gaston Maspero 1846–1916. Le Gentelman égyptologue*, Paris 1999, p. 181). Nevertheless, AMÉLINEAU blamed LORET for the loss of the concession at Abydos (*Nouvelles fouilles* II, p. iii).

[82] The "Journal" letters show that they started work at Abydos at the beginning of December 1899 (M. S. DROWER, *Letters*, pp. 156–157). The transfer of concession was not a certainty even while they were excavating at Abydos. In his letters from the first season there, FLINDERS says that he was worried AMÉLINEAU might arrive in the middle of his excavations (M. S. DROWER, *Letters*, pp. 157–158; ST. QUIRKE, *Hidden Hands*, p. 107 citing letter written 25.12.1899). AMÉLINEAU's protestations in the introduction to *Nouvelles fouilles* II show that this was a real concern; indeed he thought that he was still entitled to work there in 1899–1900. An encounter at Abydos between these two scholars was only avoided because AMÉLINEAU did not come back in that season: "Des circonstances imprévues m'empechèrent de retourner en Egypt…" (*Nouvelles fouilles* II, p. ii).

[83] About these excavations see B. J. KEMP, *Abydos*, in: T. G. H. JAMES (ed.), *Excavating Egypt*; London 1982, pp. 71–88; ID., *Abydos*, in: P. SPENCER (ed.), *The Egypt Exploration Society. The Early Years*, Oxford 2007, pp. 131–165; M. S. DROWER, *Flinders Petrie*, pp. 255–272.

tion were not factors in the preservation of these archaeological sites. By inspecting the locations of these sites on satellite images today, it is apparent that more than a third have been destroyed by modern land development and most are under threat (Tab. 4)[84]. This tenting trip, therefore, presented an opportunity which has since been lost. If they had instead undertaken excavations in 1899–1900 in the "work" cemeteries or other sites found on the first day of their trip, the artefacts and contexts from the currently destroyed archaeological sites might have been included in *Diospolis Parva. The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu.*

The Notebook Transcriptions[85]

H. P.: <105> Tenting–trip. Horse, Flinders & Ali, donkeys, tents & tins, camel. Nights at El Ga'ara, El Ghabat (2), Nawahed. Abydos.

Site 1

Notes (H. P.): <142> 1st morning

H. P.; Notes (H. P.): Beyond Coptic deir[86]. 1st morn[ing] ascended low desert, saw Mace's | cem[etery][87] VII–VIII[th Dynasty][88] pots and XII[th Dynasty] pot[tery] + offerings, then

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): ½ m[ile] W[est] of rail[road], valley, low rise in midst[?][89] | with tomb hollows plundered anc[ien]t[ly].

Site 2

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): 1 ½ [miles] W[est] of rail[road] cem[eter]y plundered both sides [of] valley

Site 3

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): 2 [miles] W[est] of rail[road] double weli[90] | mod[ern] cem[etery] by it at end of dyke[91]

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84 Kathryn Bard's 1989 archaeological survey near Abadiyeh and Hu observed a similarly discouraging destruction of the sites from Petrie's work there in 1898–1899 (K. Bard, *Predynastic Settlement Patterns in the Hu-Semaineh Region, Egypt*, in: *Journal of Field Archaeology* 16, 1989, pp. 475–478).

85 I have collated the text from each source to fit the timeline of their trip and grouped the notes by my own division of their comments into "Sites". The citations for each passage are abbreviated (Tab. 3) and appear in italic. Where the cited passages are nearly identical among the different versions, I have only included the text of the first citation. The Petries use abbreviations throughout their notes. My suggestions for the restorations of abbreviated or omitted words appear within []. For *Notes (H. P.)*, a hand other than Hilda's wrote the page numbers, and so they appear within <>. I have preserved the original punctuation and indentation of lines where it appears to be significant to the organisation, for example to differentiate notes concerning different things. Otherwise I have rendered their notes into a continuous text, with the symbol | indicating the break of a line in the original. Insertions appear as either superscript or subscript text with ^ or v indicating their original orientation to the other text. I have preserved crossed-out and underlined text as it is written. For the references to published maps cited in the footnotes, see above, note 42.

86 "Deir" (دير) is the word for monastery in Arabic. This particular monastery is that of Mar Mina al-Aga'ibi, which stands one kilometre west of the Roman fortress at Hu. It is depicted opposite an Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery on Petrie's map of the cemeteries of Hu (W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. 1 top). The monastery dates to the seventeenth century AD or earlier, and its church existed in the time of el-Maqrizi, c. fourteenth to fifteenth century AD (St. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit. Eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschluß von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters, der Sketis und der Sinai-Region* 2, *Beihefte TAVO* 41/2, Wiesbaden 1990, pp. 1122–1123).

87 This is Cemetery Y. See above, note 22.

88 In describing "tombs of the VIth to the Xth dynasties" from Hu, Flinders states about the criteria for dating: "Broadly we are dealing with all the graves which, though not assignable to the IVth or Vth Dynasty, yet belong distinctively to an earlier date than the well known age of the XIIth Dynasty, with its many distinctive manufactures" (W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, p. 37). The dates for pottery were based on observations of trends in the cemeteries that they had assigned to this period through other means. Mace determined that the graves in Cemetery Y spanned the period of the Sixth Dynasty to the Eighteenth Dynasty (*op. cit.*, pp. 31, 39).

89 A light railroad line appears in this area on map SEGY1906_21–6. This railroad terminated at the village of Nag' el-Mansara. This railroad no longer exists, but traces of it are visible in Google Earth imagery. A half mile to the west, there is now a valley with modern agricultural fields. This valley has several small hills around it. A small village of six to seven houses occupies a mound in the middle of the valley and may be built over the tombs on a "rise in midst".

90 A "weli" (والى) is an Islamic saint of localized veneration (W. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, Cairo 2000, pp. 240–247). In the Petries' camp, "weli" may have been their jargon for the domed tombs under which these saints are characteristically buried. In a statement about domed tomb structures in cemetery D at Abydos, Mace says: "Before the pyramidal casing was added, tomb D 47 must have presented very much the appearance of an arab weli" (D. Randall-MacIver/A. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, p. 65). Flinders' "double" notation is an indication of a structure with two domes. In satellite imagery of this area in Google Earth, there are indeed two domes of a single saint's tomb visible. The tomb is named Sidi Suliman on map NAGHAMMADI1936.

91 This basin dyke separates Hod Qammana from Hod ed Dahasa el Gharbi according to the map SEGY1907_20–5 and map SEGY1906_21–5. The dyke is still visible in Google Earth as a winding road through the fields. It leads directly to the tomb of Sidi Suliman on map NAGHAMMADI1936. The modern cemetery lies across the road from the saint's tomb and extends into the desert. The underline of this passage in Flinders' notes may indicate that he saw some potential for excavating here, like a "work" notation.

Site 4

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): ½ [mile] W[est][92] of dyke. N[ew] R[ace][93] pottery. Ceme[ter]y. pit | 80 x 160 [inches?][94] + deep bricked[95] 120 [inches?] down. XII[th Dynasty] cup
| another 70 x 120 [inches?]. N[ew] R[ace] pot[tery] all about
| ▢ pot[tery] coffin[96]

Site 5

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): ¾ [mile] W[est] of dyke <u>N[ew] R[ace] cem[etery]</u> begins 1/45 [mile] back[97] | in desert | work. on plateau[98]

Site 6

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): 1 ½ [miles] W[est] of dyke ~~a~~El Batha[99]. cem[eter]y XII[th Dynasty] | pot[tery] on E[ast] side of it

F. P.: (to stay build under trees at foot of plateau | on fan of detritus , just E[ast] of El Batha)[100]

H. P.; Notes (H. P.): great fan of detritus. valley draining 20 m[iles].

F. P.: 1 m[ile] from El Batha impassable[?]. Hosh e[l] 'Amuri[101]

H. P.; Notes (H. P.): 1 m[ile] further <u>Hosh 'Amuri</u> eagle[102].

Site 7, Abu 'Umuri

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): ½ [mile] W[est] of H[osh el] 'A[muri] cem[ete]ry dug[103]. big bricked[104] | tombs XII[th Dynasty]?

F. P.: (2 ~~¾~~ [miles] W[est] of H[osh el] 'A[muri] ~~of~~ El Arageh[105])

Notes (H. P.); H. P.: 2 [miles] w[est.] El ~~Cha~~Harageh. rested | under row of sont[106] e[d]g[e?] [of] old wall. hoopoes

Site 8

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): ¾ [mile][107] W[est] of H[osh el] 'A[muri] N[ew] R[ace] pot[tery] <u>cem[eter]y</u> | vworkv bricked tombs[108]
| pan[-grave] pot[tery][109]

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92 In FLINDERS' notes, "½ [mile] W[est]" was written over a spot where writing had been erased.

93 Both FLINDERS and HILDA write NR for N[ew] R[ace]. These N[ew] R[ace] indications should be interpreted as references to remains of the Naqada Culture.

94 Both FLINDERS and HILDA frequently do not indicate the units that correspond with numbers in their notes; inches, feet, yards, or miles in the British imperial system are possible. In most cases, context makes it clear which is missing. Here either inches or feet are implied. An understanding that they are describing tomb shafts suggests that these are inches.

95 The word "bricked" probably is a short hand notation for a "brick lined" tomb shaft.

96 Pottery coffins are found in Naqada III cemeteries (A. STEVENSON, *Predynastic Burials*, in: W. WENDRICH ET AL. (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2009, p. 2 [http://escholarship.org/uc/item/2m3463b2]).

97 The distance of this cemetery in the desert is noted differently in each copy: *F. P.*: "1/45", *H. P.*: "1/3", *Notes (H. P.)*: "1/8". The writing is hard to read in FLINDERS' copy, and so HILDA may not have been able to make out what was the correct number in her copies.

98 The phrase "on plateau" completes the previous line's statement about the location of the cemetery. The notation "work" is a memorandum that FLINDERS has written here to correspond with the underlined "N(ew) R(ace) cemetery". These are places that he thought worthy of future excavations.

99 The village named Batha (بطحى) appears on the map SEGY1906_21–6 and the map SAHILFARSHUT1892. FLINDERS made an error in his calculation, or correction, of the distance here, since 1 ½ miles from the dyke would have been to the west of the village of el-Batha.

100 The text within brackets appears to be a memorandum for FLINDERS about a location to build a new excavation house. In Google Earth, it appears that there are several houses built here on a mound at the end of a large drainage ditch built within an old *wadi* course.

101 On the map SEGY1906_21–5, the next village to the west of el-Batha is Nag' el-Hosh. The map NAGHAMMADI1936 gives the name for the town as Nag' Hosh abu 'Umari (alternatively named El-'Azayza).

102 In *Notes (H. P.)*, the notation ": eagle." has been added after the line was completed. It is awkwardly fitted between two words.

103 Throughout their notes, both FLINDERS and HILDA write "dug" for archaeological sites that looked partly or completely excavated.

104 See above, note 95.

105 Only here and in the itinerary mentioned above, did FLINDERS write "El Arageh" for the village named el-'Araqi (العرقى). Elsewhere they write the name as "El Harageh".

106 "Sont" (سنط) is the Arabic word for acacia, *Acacia nilotica*.

107 A line drawn here shows that this entry should come before the previous line that mentions "El Arageh". Sites 8, 9, and 10 are all in fact situated to the east of El Harageh. So FLINDERS probably added the previous line later and put it in the wrong place in the sequence.

108 The indication that there are brick-lined tombs in this Predynastic cemetery suggests that it likely dates to late Naqada II or Naqada III (A. STEVENSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–3).

109 This is the first of three pan-grave sites observed in the survey. About these "pan [grave]" notations, JANINE BOURRIAU warns us: "Kerma ware was also found in this area [= Hu] and at this time [= 1899], no difference was recognized between Pan-grave wares and Kerma ware, so the description of 'pan' or 'black topped' was applied to both classes of pottery." (J. BOURRIAU, *Cemetery Y*, p. 50).

Site 9

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): 1 ¼ [miles] W[est] of H[osh el ']A[muri] Cem[ete]ry N[ew] R[ace], old worked out[110]

Site 10

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): 1 ½ [miles] W[est] of H[osh el ']A[muri] more cem[eter]y pits not finished[111]
Notes (H. P.): 1st Afternoon

Site 11, Gebel el-'Araqi

F. P.; H. P.: Behind el Harageh ~~Late R[o]m[an]~~ ˅early Arab˅ town heaps[112] | + XII[th] dyn[asty] cem[etery] plundered at W[est] of it

Site 12

F. P.; H. P.: 1 m[ile] ~~E~~ W[est] [of] El Har[a]g[eh] mud lined pit 80 x 160 [inches?][113]
| others probably work

Site 13, Hagar ed-Dahesah

F. P.; H. P.: 2 m[iles] ~~E~~ W[est] of E[l] Har[a]g[eh] dyke ^Farshut[114]^ mod[ern] cem[etery] E[ast] of it
| pit 60 x 130 [inches?][115] ^IV[th]–VI[th Dynasty]^ brick topped between 2 mod[ern] | cem[eterie]s ab[ou]t ¼ m[ile] apart.
| other ground by it to work. more IV[th Dynasty]
| ¼ mile of once tomb ground enclosed on E[ast] | in mod[ern] cem[e]t[ery]; no[t] mod[ern][116].
| ¼ mile[117] also taken in on W[est][118].

Site 14, el-Hagg Salam

F. P.; H. P.: 4 m[iles] W[est] of Harageh IV[th Dynasty] cem[etery][119] being worked | by Smain Musi[120] Mus[eum] guard

Site 15

H. P.: <pp 106>
F. P.; H. P.: 5 m[iles] [West] more tombs early b[lac]k hand made[121]
| 5 ½ m[iles] [West] vill[age] El Karnak
| 6 ½ m[iles] [West] vill[age] El Khawalid[122]
| 8 m[iles] [West] [village] El Ga'ara[123]

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110 This cemetery is likely on the west side of the village of Nag' Safar, present on map SEGY1907_20–5. The phrase "worked out" probably means the same thing as "dug". See above, note 103.

111 The term "not finished" with an underline probably means that FLINDERS saw some remaining potential for excavation, but the site was not as favourable as those with "work" notations.

112 By "town heaps" FLINDERS probably means rubbish mounds related to an ancient town such as those found behind Oxyrhynchus. He was familiar with these archaeological features since he had drawn up the first plan of Oxyrhynchus and started GRENFELL and HUNT's work there in 1897 (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Deshasheh 1897*, *Memoir EEF* 15, London 1898, p. 1).

113 See above, note 94.

114 This reference to a dyke connected with Farshut is probably the Salibet ed-Dahaseh basin dyke. This appears on maps SAHIL-FARSHUT1892 and GIRGA1880. It does not lead from the desert edge to Farshut, but it does connect with another basin dyke which leads to Farshut on map GIRGA1880. It reaches the desert at a modern Muslim cemetery. On the map NAGHAMADI1907_20–5, the route from this point to Farshut is direct. In Google Earth, this dyke appears to exist still today although it has been straightened out considerably. The actual distance from this dyke to el-'Araqi is more like 1.6–1.8 miles not 2 miles.

115 See above, note 94.

116 The phrase "not modern" indicates that there is another ancient cemetery next to or inside of the modern cemetery. The underlining may indicate the same things as "work". There are in fact two modern cemeteries visible on map SEGY1907_20–5 in this area.

117 The word "mile" is written over a small letter that is illegible.

118 The last four lines should be interpreted as indications that the nineteenth century cemetery overlapped ancient cemeteries over about ¼ mile on its eastern and western sides.

119 The position of this ancient site is just south of the village of Nag' Qashaqsha on the map SEGY1907_20–5. The current name of this village is Nag' Salam. PETRIE may not have included any more information about the ancient cemetery because it was not of interest since the Antiquities Service guardian was working there.

120 I would like to thank STEPHEN QUIRKE for confirming the transcription of this man's name.

121 The notation "b(lac)k handmade" is probably a reference to black-topped red ware pottery. PETRIE refers to this manufacturing style in his outline of Predynastic pottery simply as "Black Topped Pottery (B)" and noted that it was handmade (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva*, p. 13, Pl. 13). The notation is different, however, from the abbreviation that FLINDERS used for this ware in his notebooks for the excavation at Naqada (E. BAUMGARTEL, *Petrie's Naqada Excavation*, p. 11). Predynastic black topped ware is found commonly in Badarian and Naqada I to Naqada IIc contexts (S. HENDRICKX, *Predynastic – Early Dynastic Chronology*, in: E. HORNUNG/R. KRAUSS/D. A. WARBURTON (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, *HdO* 83, Leiden/Boston 2006, pp. 74–79).

122 El-Khawalid appears on map GIRGA1890. But the name does not appear on any other maps. On the map NAGHAMMADI1936, one mile north from el-Karnak is a cluster of houses labelled "El Qara Station". The name may have changed to reflect the new importance of this village on the railroad line to Kharga.

123 "El Ga'ra" is the modern town of el-Qara (القارة). It is, however, only 2 miles north of Karnak, and approximately 8 ¼ miles north of el-'Araqi along the desert's edge.

H. P.: 2bl vill[age] ½ m[ile] apart. Quiet Omdeh[124]. Pitched under sont[125].

Camp 2 March: el-Ga'ara

F. P.: El Ga'ara South[sic][126] vill[age] ½ mile apart
H. P.: 2nd morn[ing].
Notes (H. P.): <145> Abydos 2nd morning[127]

Site 16

F. P.; H. P.; Notes (H. P.): 1[128] 1 m[ile] W[est] | XVIII[th Dynasty]? town site on desert

Site 17, Ka'imat

F. P.: 2 2 m[iles] W[est] on spur in front of mod[ern] cem[etery] ^flint^ [129]
| area of small pits dug pan[-grave]-period, b[lac]k pot in mod[ern cemetery?][130] | + Beb[sic][131] pot
H. P.: flint ˅in stream coarse˅ Rough pot, la[rge] rib[bed] pans, coarse pot-like knob, rough red bowl with rope mark, clear: yellow drab pink inside, wh[ite] speckles[132], mirage.
Notes (H. P.): rough pot (like D[enderah] B[eb?]) la[rge] rib[bed], pans XVIII[th Dynasty]
| coarse pottery with knob. date ? rough red bowl
| with palm fibre rope wound around edge
| reg[ular] XVIII[th Dynasty] – yellow drab, pink inside, wh[ite] | speckles
| mirage – flint pol[ished] in stream coarse

Site 18, Deir en-Nawahid

F. P.: 3 3 [miles] W[est] pan[-grave] pits ? square pit brick edge[133]
H. P.; Notes (H. P.): Pan[-grave] cemetery.

Site 19

F. P.: 3 ¼ m[iles] W[est:] Nowahid
| all along prom[entory from] El Ga'ara well | built houses + farms on desert edge[134]
H. P.: Dwelling places, ash, XVIII[th Dynasty]?
Notes (H. P.): ~~cem +? opened[?]~~ Dwelling places. ash. XVIII[th Dynasty]?

Site 20

F. P.: 6 ¾
| ~~3~~ 3 ½ [miles] W[est] of Nowahid ground pitted IV[th Dynasty] pot[tery] just E[ast] of | valley down E[ast] side of headland[135]

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124 An "Omdeh" (عمدة) is a village headman. PETRIE sought out these people when camping overnight: "When pitching tents, always stay by a village, and the shekh [= omdeh] is responsible for your safety..." (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Ten Year's Digging in Egypt, 1881–1891*, London 1892, p. 193).

125 See above, note 106.

126 This village should in fact be north of the previous El Ga'ara, see Figs. 1 and 2.

127 "Abydos 2nd morning" is HILDA's label for the page of notes. They reached South Abydos by the end of this day.

128 These parenthetical numbers refer to the distance from the village of el-Ga'ra where the PETRIES camped on the previous night.

129 FLINDERS' drawing of this flint tool indicates that it is an Acheulean handaxe, probably cordiform in shape. Acheulean artefacts have been found on the slopes of the embayment behind these villages (M. E. VIGNARD, *Stations paléolithiques de la carrière d'Abou el-Nour près de Nag-Hamadi (Haute Égypte)*, in: *BIFAO* 20, 1922, pp. 89–109; K. S. SANDFORD, *Palaeolithic Man and the Nile Valley in Upper and Middle Egypt. A Study of the Region during Pliocene and Pleistocene Times*, *OIP* 18, Chicago 1934, p. 63). HILDA's note indicates that this flint tool was found in a stream course (*wadi*). Its polish may indicate that it was eroded from surface exposure or water action in the stream course.

130 Two areas at Ka'imat were confirmed to be pan-grave cemeteries by PATCH's survey: her Sites S83-22–23 (D. C. PATCH, *Preliminary Report on the 1983 Field Season of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Abydos*, in: *NARCE* 184, 1986, pp. 17; personal communication, DIANA PATCH, 1. 8. 2013).

131 FLINDERS' "Beb pot" and HILDA's "like DB" must refer to the same ceramic vessel. It is not certain what this could be. Perhaps they are references to a unique bowl discovered at D[enderah] in the mastaba of B[eb] (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Dendereh 1898*, *Memoir EEF* 17, London 1900, pp. 17–18).

132 HILDA's descriptions of this pot as "yellow drab pink inside, wh[ite] speckles", and "reg[ular] XVIII[th Dynasty] – yellow drab, pink inside, wh[ite] speckles" may be references to a marl-clay vessel with white inclusions.

133 Rectangular tombs are features of pan-grave cemeteries that have started to Egyptianize, primarily found at Mostagedda and Balabish. The later site lies immediately across the Nile from the PETRIES' survey area. BOURRIAU has suggested that they date to the later part of the Second Intermediate Period (J. BOURRIAU, *Nubians in Egypt*, in: D. ARNOLD (ed.), *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, *SDAIK* 9, Mainz 1981, p. 31). This idea assumes, however, that they followed a linear rate of acculturation, which may be incorrect (E. COHEN, *Egyptianization and the Acculturation Hypothesis. An Investigation of the Pan-Grave, Kerman and C-Group Material Cultures in Egypt and Sudan during the Second Intermediate Period and Eighteenth Dynasty*, PhD thesis, Yale University, New Haven 1992, pp. 33–62).

134 HILDA's notes corresponding to these "built houses + farms" suggest they may be Eighteenth Dynasty structures.

135 This "headland" is a promontory of the desert escarpment that forms the backdrop to Abydos, South Abydos, and el-'Amra (D. RANDALL-MACIVER/A. MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. 1, pp. 1–2). The "large valley" runs from the desert parallel to the side of this escarpment and reaches the cultivation south of a spur on which the cemeteries of el-'Amra are situated. This large valley should not be confused with a smaller valley that bisects the site of el-'Amra, which is called "the divide" in the literature (D. RANDALL-MACIVER/A. MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pp. 1–2;

H. P.; Notes (H. P.): 7 m[iles] w[est][136] O[ld] K[ingdom] [?] cem[etery] round-pits, handmade IV[th Dynasty] pot[tery][137]. Child making toy shaduf[138].
Notes (H. P.): lunch 1st day El Haraga
| tent El Ga'ara
F. P.: 7 ¼
| ~~4~~ 4 [miles] W[est of] Nowahid dyke[139]
Notes (H. P.): 2nd Afternoon[140]
| midday 2nd day dyke road to N[ew] R[ace] cem[etery] – 1st of [?]

Site 21, el-'Amra

F. P.: 3 ½ [miles] W[est] of Nowahid just W[est] of ^large^ valley[141] spur with | IV[th Dynasty] tombs shallow[142]. Hence all ground pitted | closely ^up to dyke head ¼ mile^ shallow tombs later prehistoric + early primitive[143]
| work still in valley[144] in cem[eter]y. One great | pit & mod[ern] fodder trench by it, + hut [sic].
| Brides rub of it[145].
| all dug by Abu Selim[146] for Mus[eum]. El Amrah
| VI[th Dynasty][147] pots at dyke head
| End of valley next [mile?] W[est] still to be worked[148]
| arched brick tombs also barrel vault[149]
| black humps 1 m[ile] back in Desert[150].
Notes (H. P.): El Amra
| IVth [Dynasty] E[ast?] N[ew] R[ace]. de Morgan. One cem[etery] worked – lunch.
| nebek[151]. VI[th] dyn[asty] shapes[?] (later[?][152] on E[ast] XII[th Dynasty][153])

Site 22, Nag' el-Ghuneimiya

F. P.: Town of VI[th] dyn[asty] ¼ m[ile] W[est] of dyke[154], on edge | (within spur of mod[ern] cem[etery])[155]
Notes (H. P.): town site, in mod[ern] | cem[etery]. welis[156]. mastaba gr[ave?] wide E[ast] + under.

D. C. Patch, *Origin*, p. 379; J. A. Hill, *Interregional Trade, Cultural Exchange, and Specialized Production in the Late Predynastic. Archaeological Analysis of el-Amra, Upper Egypt*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 2010, pp. 89–92). Site 20 is situated on a spur which is south of the large valley. Flinders incorrectly noted a distance of 3 ½ miles from en-Nawahid. This location would be in fact 2 ¾ miles away. But, the ½ mile distance from Site 20 to the dyke noted in the next line is correct. The crossed out and rewritten numbers in Flinders' notes give us a clue that he likely lost track of their pace of travel in measuring the distance from en-Nawahid.

136 *Notes (H. P.)*: "7 m[iles] w[est] of El Ga'ara naga safar".

137 *Notes (H. P.)*: "Hand made 4IVth [Dynasty] pot. rolling round edge".

138 Hilda's pocket diary ends at this point.

139 This dyke must be the Samhud Saliba, depicted on maps SOUTHSUHAG1892 and KENA1890. It forms the boundary between Qena and Sohag governorates. At this point probably after their lunch, the Petries must have turned around to go back to visit the archaeological site of el-'Amra, which lies to the south of this dyke.

140 At this point Hilda includes a note recapping the itinerary: "lunch 1st day El Haraga 2nd day El Amra" and "tent[: 1st day] El Ga'ara tent[: 2nd day] El Ghabat".

141 The term "large valley" is the same valley noted under Site 20.

142 No Fourth Dynasty tombs are mentioned in this area in any published work at el-'Amra.

143 The phrase "later prehistoric + early primitive" equate to "N[ew] R[ace]" in Hilda's notes.

144 This valley is likely "the divide". See above, note 135.

145 "Brides rub of it" is perhaps a reference to a stone with "pilgrim marks" left from women grinding powder from it for making fertility potions (W. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, Cairo 2000, p. 99). Perhaps it is the large boulder mentioned by Patch (D. C. Patch, *Origin*, p. 380).

146 Hilda's notes indicate that the excavations referred to here are those of de Morgan. "Abu Selim" is probably the "native reis" mentioned in Petrie's "Journal" letter (see below).

147 The notation here includes some pencil marks that have been erased. "VI" was written over them. Randall-MacIver and Mace mention only Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasty tombs existing "north of the divide". But they also did not excavate here (D. Randall-MacIver/A. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, p. 2).

148 This area "still to be worked" refers to the "cemetery on the western side" excavated by Randall-MacIver and Mace two years later (D. Randall-MacIver/A. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, p. 3).

149 Daressy describes vaulted Early Dynastic mudbrick tombs uncovered by Amélineau's workers at el-'Amra in 1896 (G. Daressy, in: *BIE* 9, 1898, p. 281).

150 The phrase "black humps" probably refers to stone tumuli observed by Daressy at el-'Amra: "À un kilomètre au delà, dans la vallée on remarque un certain nombre de tumuli: ces buttes faites en grosses pierres brutes ou roulées, parfois consolidées par un mortier de terre ont 5 mètres de diamètre en moyenne et 1 mètre de hauteur" (G. Daressy, in: *BIE* 9, 1898, p. 281). He notes that these had bones strewn around them and so were probably tombs. Unfortunately this area is in a modern quarry.

151 "Nebek" (نبق) is an Arabic name for the Christ's Thorn tree, *Paliurus spina-christi*.

152 This word may have been erased. Secondary pencil marks also obscure it.

153 See above, note 147.

154 This dyke is likely again the Samhud Saliba. It is the same dyke mentioned in Flinders' note for Site 20.

155 This is the modern cemetery to the northwest of the village of Nag' el-Ghuneimya. The map SEGY1906_20–4 shows that the cemetery had already filled the area between Nag' Ahmad Khalifa and Nag' Regah (= modern Nag' el-Ghuneimya) by 1906.

156 The notation "welis" indicates domed tombs of Islamic saints. See above, note 90. These tombs belong to the saints of the Beni Himeil buried in the cemetery. According to map ABUSHUSHA1979, there are fifteen domed tombs in this cemetery, which include four saints.

Site 23, Sinki, Nag' (Ahmad) el-Khalifa

F. P.: 8 ¼

| 1 m[ile] W[est] of dyke pyramid of unknown, Stone as Nubt[157]

| internal mastaba ∠ face[158] flint [159]

| all destroyed in mid[dle] + N[orth] side[160]

Notes (H. P.): G[rea]t | cliff face. Pyramid, primitive (1st 3 dyn[asties])

| 1 m[ile] W[est] of dyke [at] El Amra. Slope of core[161]

Site 24, el-Ghabat

F. P.: 9 ¼

| 2 m[iles] W[est] is El Ghabat

| pits 1 ½ [miles] W[est] on spur[162]

Site 25, South Abydos, Tetisheri Pyramid

F. P.: 1 ¼ [miles] W[est] pitting all over gebel[163], + brickwork build[ing][164]

Notes (H. P.): <143> 2nd Afternoon Abydos[165]

| Beyond el Amra, near Abydos, hard ^wh[ite]^ limestone | shrine, ~~woman~~ ^queen^ seated | early XVIII[th Dynasty][166],

Site 26, South Abydos, Ahmose Pyramid

F. P.: Large royal tomb at end of dyke[167] | temple before it[168], all worked. | Cem[eter]y early behind + W[est] of it.

Notes (H. P.): Close to our tent, El Ghabat, Tomb of King? early | dynastic – la[rge] building, brick, Amél[ineau] dug holes[169] | temple of pyramid?

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157 This statement refers to the small stepped pyramid of Sinki (G. DREYER/N. SWELIM, in: *MDAIK* 38, 1982, pp. 83–93). "Nubt" is a reference to the small stepped pyramid at Naqada, the ancient town of Ombos, *Nwbt* in Ancient Egyptian (W. M. F. PETRIE/J. QUIBELL, *Naqada and Ballas*, *ERA* 1, London 1896, p. 65, Pl. 85; G. DREYER/W. KAISER, *Zu den kleinen Stufenpyramiden Ober- und Mittelägyptens*, in: *MDAIK* 36, 1980, pp. 46–47). QUIBELL lists the small step pyramids at "el-Kuleh, Nubt, el-Amrah" in *Hierakonpolis* I, *ERA* 4, London 1900, p. 6. He may have heard about the pyramid at Sinki from PETRIE.

158 FLINDERS noted here already that the internal structure of the pyramid was built on an inclined core. The excavations of DREYER and SWELIM documented this internal structure (G. DREYER/N. SWELIM, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–88, Abb. 3).

159 This is another picture of an Acheulean handaxe. This one appears to have remains of the cortex on the bottom. Compare his drawing to the flint from Site 17, which does not have cortex. Ahmose and Tetisheri Project field survey found two examples of Acheulean handaxes with cortex remains at Sinki in 2010 (B. KRAEMER, "*Wandering upon the Desert Besides the dhn.t Hapetnebes*". *The 2010 Ahmose and Tetisheri Project Survey South of Abydos*, in preparation).

160 CHARLES WILBOUR and GASTON MASPERO visited the pyramid on the 29th of March 1883 and made observations about its internal structure (J. CAPART [ed.], *Travels in Egypt [December 1880 To May 1891]. Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour*, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1936, p. 243). WILBOUR's plan of the pyramid shows that the north side and interior were already removed by that time (Brooklyn Museum Archives, Wilbour Archival Collection, Notebooks [5.1.005]: 2E ("2/22/1883–04/17/1883"), 14). His letter suggests that MASPERO's workers excavated the pyramid out: "They have dug into the center and down to the rock and found nothing, as we did last year at Mohameereyeh" (J. CAPART [ed.], *op. cit.*, p. 243).

161 HILDA's notes have a sketch here. This may explain "slope of core", but it is not apparent how. Her notes for this page end here. The next page has Arabic transcriptions and translations of ancient Egyptian inscriptions which do not appear to be connected with the survey.

162 These "pits" could be the chambers cut into a spur of the mountain south of el-Ghabat (B. KRAEMER, *A Shrine of Pepy I in South Abydos*, submitted to *JEA*). From almost anywhere along the low desert they look like caves, and they are indicated as such on the map NAGHAMMADI1936.

163 "Gebel" (جبل), "mountain" in Arabic, is the local word for the high desert escarpment on either side of the Nile valley.

164 The "brickwork building" refers to the Tetisheri Pyramid (E. AYRTON ET AL., *Abydos* III, pp. 35–38). The pyramid would have been an obvious feature on the landscape in 1899 before a modern cemetery obscured it. The "pitting all over gebel" refers to holes and a small quarry visible in the *gebel* here.

165 The date "2nd Afternoon Abydos" is also a label for the notes on this page. See above, note 127.

166 This is probably the Tetisheri Stela. See above, note 71.

167 The dyke is the Beni Himeil Saliba, depicted on maps SAHIL-FARSHUT1892 and GIRGA1890. CHARLES T. CURRELLY also refers to this basin dyke in reference to the position of the Ahmose Pyramid Temple (E. AYRTON ET AL., *Abydos* III, p. 33).

168 This description of a "royal tomb" refers to the Pyramid of Ahmose. PETRIE also referred to a temple when describing the pyramid later that year: "A temple before it seems to be of XVIII–XIX Dynasty, but the pyramid is probably of the early kings. Failing any sign of an entrance we are now going to cut through to the middle." (Griffith Institute, Oxford University. Petrie Journals 1899–1900 [el Arabah Baliana Upper Egypt], 105–106 [6b–7b "11–25 Dec 1899"], quoted in ST. P. HARVEY, *The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1998, pp. 96–97 [hereafter ST. P. HARVEY, *Cults*]).

169 AMÉLINEAU acknowledged having worked in the area of the Ahmose Pyramid (ST. P. HARVEY, *op. cit.*, p. 96). He also mentioned his *reis'* brief excavations and illicit diggings going on near "Sheikh Mohammed", i. e. Ahmose's pyramid (É. AMÉLINEAU, *Nouvelles fouilles* I, pp. XXX, 32). Earlier excavations may also have left holes in the pyramid temple as well. A stamped mud-brick with the name of Ahmose was registered at the Boulaq Museum in 1889 as JdE 28919. This date is too soon for AMÉLINEAU's work. It may belong to excavations in Abydos during the years of EUGÈNE GRÉBAUT's tenure as director of the Antiquities Service, about which little information is known (G. DARESSY, *Le voyage d'inspection de M. Grébaut en 1889*, in: *ASAE* 26, 1926, pp. 1–22). The brick stamp is type 2a in the corpus established by HARVEY and is found in walls of the pyramid temple (ST. P. HARVEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 487–488, Figs. 34–35).

Great doorway, limestone | pavement ^2 d[ee]p pits^, mass of brickwork at front of mound, | + deep pit, mound v50 ft highv a pyramid? early | pottery[170]

Site 27, South Abydos, The Ahmose Town/Wahsut

F. P.: Town of age of royal tomb on desert[171] | W(est) of it. Laid out all at once.

Site 28, Abydos, Cemeteries Φ and X

F. P.: Late N[ew] R[ace] cem[etery] on high ground 1 [mile] ~~S[outh] W[est]~~ S[outh] E[ast] of Arabah[172]

Camp 3–4 March: South Abydos[173]

F. P.: [Fig. 3]

Look for face at top, A[174]. | go on 200 y[ar]ds + path descends | past face B + down E[ast] edge of face

Site 29, Abydos, Temple of Seti I[175]

Site 30, Abydos, Temple of Ramesses II[176]

Site 31, Abydos, Osiris Temple Enclosure, Kom es-Sultan

Notes (H. P.): El Kherbeh[177] Temple of Osiris, g[rea]t ruins, outer | temenos wall, brick, brick buildings, early.

| outer wings, +courts stone, Ram[eses] IV[178] – g[rea]t stela | Neferhotep XIII[th Dynasty][179],

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170 The earliest phase of use at the Ahmose Pyramid Temple site was likely a Naqada Ic–IIc settlement (D. C. Patch, *Origin*, pp. 208–214).

171 This town dates from the late Twelfth Dynasty to the Ramesside Period (E. Ayrton et al., *Abydos* III, p. 11; St. P. Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 424; J. Wegner, *The Town of Wah-sut at South Abydos. 1999 Excavations*, in: *MDAIK* 57, 2001, pp. 281–308).

172 This is probably the small Predynastic cemeteries Φ and X excavated by Randall-MacIver in the Petries' first season at Abydos (D. Randall-MacIver, *The Earliest Inhabitants of Abydos*, Oxford 1901; D. Randall-MacIver/A. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pp. 53–56). Randall-MacIver noted that the cemetery had already been partially excavated, so it must have been visible in 1899. The only published information about the location of these cemeteries is that they were "half a mile to the south of the valley leading from the 'Temple of Osiris' to the Royal Tombs at Umm-el-Qa'ab" (*ibid.*, p. 53). Kemp's suggestion that these were also the cemeteries B and C excavated by Ayrton and Loat "about half a mile to the south-east of the early Royal tombs" provides a second bearing to put this cemetery on the map (E. R. Ayrton/W. L. S. Loat, *Pre-dynastic Cemetery at El Mahasna*, *Memoir EEF* 31, London 1911, p. 2; B. J. Kemp, *Abydos*, in: *LÄ* I, col. 34). One mile southeast of el-'Arabah is, nevertheless, too far away. It would be more likely one-half to three-quarters of a mile and is in fact to the south-west. The confusion is evident in Flinders' scratched out directions. He probably estimated the distance by sight since the Petries turned around to South Abydos for their camp instead of proceeding directly to el-'Arabah. This location, nevertheless, puts the cemetery too far out into the desert for it to be sites S83-43 and S83-44 observed in Patch's survey "400 meters west of the last visible minaret" in el-'Arabah (D. C. Patch, *Origin*, pp. 411–413).

173 The campsite for these two nights is probably in South Abydos, near to the "Roman Farm" (E. Ayrton et al., *Abydos* III, Pl. 61). Hilda calls this area "El Ghabat". A sketch that Flinders made of the *gebel* shows a perspective from this place (Fig. 3). An undated watercolour also shows a landscape view south from this area (M. S. Drower, *Letters*, table 8 [top]). In his letter quoted above, Amélineau furthermore notes that he saw their tents some distance down the road from El-Khadrah near a site that he had already explored. "El Gadri"/"Gadra" appear on Lepsius' and Daressy's maps as the village south of the temple of Seti I (*LD* II, Bl. 65; G. Daressy, in: *BIE* 9, 1898, p. 289).

174 These notes describe the directions for ascending the *gebel* behind the Ahmose Terrace Temple to reach Site 35.

175 Notes for the morning of the third day (the 4th of March) concern inscriptions in the Temple of Seti I. These notes can be found on *F.P.*, scan 8, and *Notes (H. P.)*, p. 164. Considering the amount of scholarship that has been done in copying and studying this temple (PM VI, pp. 1–27; see also Tab. 4), the Petries' notes provide no new information. Flinders' notebook also has notes here concerning corruption of the local inspector, the *omdeh*, and Amélineau's *reis* as well as the price of rope. These are published elsewhere. See above, note 76. So, I have left these passages out of the transcription here.

176 *Notes (H. P.)*, p. 165 describes scenes in the temple of Ramesses II. These notes contribute no new information. The scenes are published elsewhere (PM VI, pp. 32–41; see also Tab. 4).

177 "El Kherbeh" has been added secondarily in a space in front of "Temple of Osiris". This was the contemporary name for the village on the eastern edge of the archaeological site (A. Mariette, *Abydos* I, Pl. 1).

178 "Ramesses IV" cannot refer to the "great stela" that Mariette found here (JdE 48876), since it was on display in the Giza Museum at this time (A. Mariette, *Abydos* II, p. 29, pls. 34–35; Id., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, p. 440, no. 1171; Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Notice des principaux monuments exposés au musée de Gizeh*, Cairo 1895, p. 61, no. 184; PM V, p. 44). It may, therefore, refer to a statue of this king also from Kom es-Sultan: University of Pennsylvania Museum E 16024 (PM V, p. 48).

179 "g[rea]t stela Neferhotep XIII[th Dynasty]" must refer to the stela that dates to regnal year two of this Pharaoh: JdE 6307 (PM V, p. 44). Mariette mentions that it was situated on the causeway traversing the Osiris Temple enclosure (A. Mariette, *Abydos* II, p. 29, pls. 34–35; Id., *Catalogue general des monuments d'Abydos*, pp. 233–234, no. 766; PM V, p. 44). This location is also where Garstang's Dec. 1899 map of the site shows "Steles Neferhetep, Amenemoni II[?]" (J. Garstang, *El Arabah. A Cemetery of the Middle Kingdom. Survey of the Old Kingdom Temenos, Graffiti from the Temple of Sety*, *ERA* 6, London 1900, Pl. 37 [hereafter J. Garstang, *El Arabah*]). The Journal d'Entrée record for it, dated 1860, notes that it was left at Abydos: "à sa place antique".

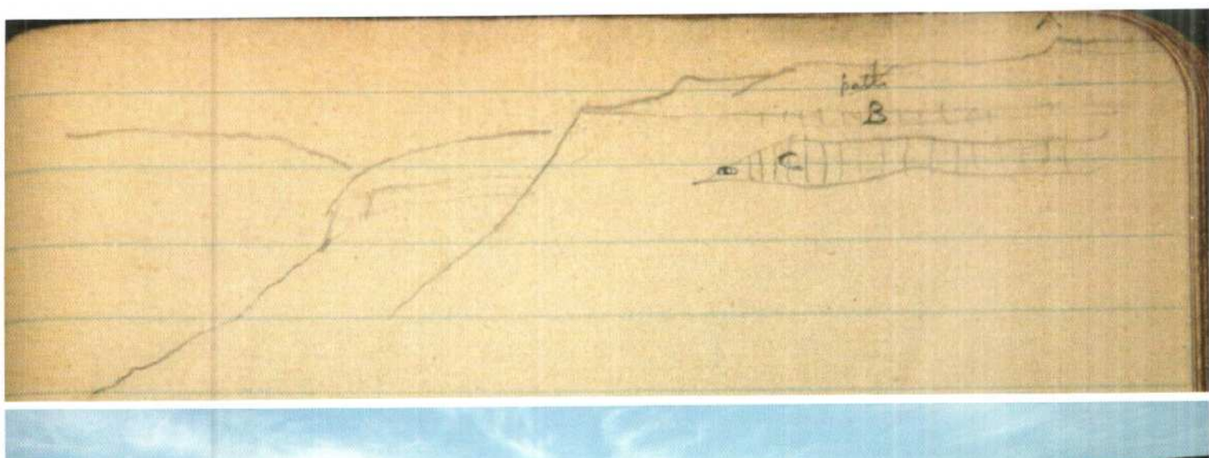




Fig. 3 FLINDERS PETRIE's sketch of the mountain behind the Ahmose Terrace Temple (courtesy of Petrie Museum, University College London/Photograph of same view B. KRAEMER)

statue Usertsen III[180], XII[th Dynasty], | XVIII[th Dynasty] Thothmes III granite[181], rubbish mounds. | VIth [Dynasty] portions[182]

Site 32, Abydos, Shunet ez-Zebib

Notes (H. P.): Shunet ez-Zebib – enclosure √300 x 1100 150 f[ee]t √ 1 acre[183] | walls 30 f[ee]t high and 15 f[ee]t thick. la[rge] bricks
| north face panelled – 3 narrow and 1 double | recess. u[nd] s[o] w[eiter]. Outer defending wall (wide | mastaba corridor) entrance. sq[uare]. well,[184] 2 small | doorways, interior undug.

There is no notice if or when it was brought to the museum, and there are no other records for it in the registrar. Yet, the JdE record has a further note: "À mettre contre[?] l'un de[s] piliers de la grande salle". This may mean that there was once a plan to move the stela to the new Egyptian Museum in Cairo. If the stela was in fact moved, it would have been after GARSTANG's map of 1899 but before 1902. FLINDERS makes no mention of the stela in his publication of the excavations in the temple enclosure in either that year or the following year (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Abydos* I; ID., *Abydos* II. *1903, Memoir EEF* 24, London 1903 [hereafter W. M. F. PETRIE, *Abydos* II]). The location of this stela is not currently known (A. LEAHY, *A Protective Measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty*, in: *JEA* 75, 1989, p. 59 note 79).

180 In his publication of the Abydos temple, FLINDERS notes the presence of the colossal statues of Usertsen [= Senwosret] III near the doorsill of the causeway (*Abydos* II, p. 34, Pl. 28). These are the same as the granite statues that MARIETTE found there (A. MARIETTE, *Abydos* II, p. 29, Pl. 21d; ID., *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, pp. 29–30, no. 346).

181 Two granite statues of Tuthmosis III were left on the site by MARIETTE (PM V, p. 44).

182 These "rubbish mounds" are references to Kom es-Sultan, part of which has occupational debris going back to the Old Kingdom and earlier (B. J. KEMP, *The Early Development of Towns in Egypt*, in: *Antiquity* 51, 1977, pp. 188–189).

183 These dimensions are too small and must represent only estimates. The Shunet ez-Zebib is 438 ft (133.5 m) x 255 ft (77.7 m) in size, covering an area of 1.04 ha, with remains of the walls going up to 11 m high. Niched facades, i. e., "paneling", are present on all four sides (M. ADAMS/D. O'CONNOR, *The Royal Mortuary Enclosures of Abydos and Hierakonpolis*, in: Z. HAWASS (ed.), *Treasures of the Pyramids*, Cairo 2003, pp. 78–85; D. O'CONNOR, *Abydos. Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*, London 2009, pp. 159–181 [hereafter D. O'CONNOR, *Abydos. First Pharaohs and Osiris*]).

184 The phrase "entrance, square, well" refers perhaps to the dog-legged entrance in both the north and east gates (D. O'CONNOR, *Abydos. First Pharaohs and Osiris*, pp. 167, 170–171).

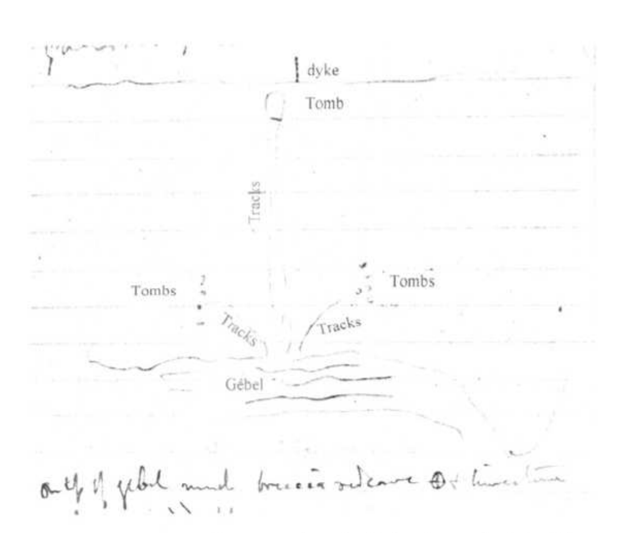


Fig. 4 FLINDERS PETRIE's sketch of the desert behind the Ahmose Pyramid; courtesy of Petrie Museum. Text converted to type

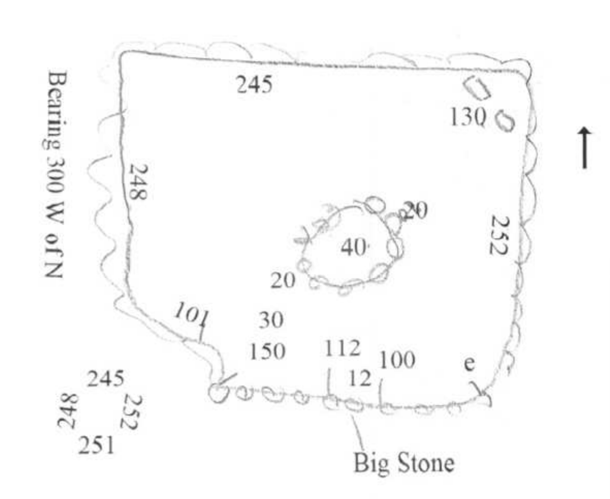


Fig. 5 HILDA PETRIE's sketch of a rock enclosure behind the Ahmose Terrace Temple; courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford University. Text converted to type

Site 33, Abydos, North Cemetery, Cemetery E, Cemetery D, etc.

Notes (H. P.): Over desert, IV dyn[asty] XIIth dyn[asty] etc[etera], much undug
| brickwork etc[etera][185]. far out, mounds. undug, and | roadways to gebel, under cliffs, ~~tomb~~ ^burial ground!^ divisions

Site 34, Abydos, Umm el-Qaab

Notes (H. P.): G[rea]t pits with fuelstone[?], and sandstone gebel | ahmar[186], K[ing]'s tombs? right under gebel,
| brick building + walls, brick tombs vaulted
| more mounds untouched

Site 35, Mountain behind Ahmose Terrace Temple (Figs. 4, 5)

F. P.: Behind great tomb at dyke head a track | head[ing] up to gebel, many tracks down at | gebel from quarry[187]. no fine stone | quarried, bit of prehistoric P22[188] in rubble
| [Fig. 4]
| On top of gebel much breccia red cave[?][189] + limestone | from denuded upper [?]
| Also pebbles of feldspar +[ceter]a on top
| Also flint pebble beds on spur 50 f[ee]t below top

Notes (H. P.): <166> circle, wall-enclosed inside face measured
| la[rge] upright stone S[outh] E[ast]. average size of stones | 14 × 10 × 10 [inches]. A few double that, down to half that.
| outer walls 20 [inches][190] | high. inner | 25 in[ches]
| inner area | cleared of | flints & stones
| XVIII dyn[asty] | pottery | mostly
| no central | hole.
| not a shelter | evidently a sacred place[191]
| On spur of hill N[orth] of great valley[192] | beyond the dyke – 50 f[ee]t beneath top
| Beyond/rock shelter, a beacon[?] – flints beginning

185 This is probably the area of tombs excavated by MARIETTE's men in Cemetery E and Cemetery D. An estimate of the extent of these excavations appears in B. J. KEMP/R. S. MERRILLEES, *Appendix I*, in: B. J. KEMP/R. S. MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt*, *SDAIK* 7, Mainz 1980, p. 288.

186 "Gebel ahmar" (جبل احمر) means "red mountain" in Arabic. This may be a reference to scattered pieces of red quartzite ("sandstone"). One of the major sources of red quartzite in Egypt was Gebel Ahmar near Heliopolis (R. KLEMM/D. D. KLEMM, *Stones & Quarries in Ancient Egypt*, London 2008, pp. 216–219).

187 There is reportedly a quarry in the back of the *wadi* behind the Ahmose Terrace Temple (B. KRAEMER, *Wandering upon the Desert Besides the dhn.t Hapetnebes*, in preparation).

188 "P22" is PETRIE's abbreviation for a Polished Red Ware open bowl with inverted rim (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva*, pp. 13–14, Pl. 13). I found an example of this same form at the site on 31. 3. 2010.

189 A crosshairs drawn at this point in the text belongs with the sketch of the mountain (Fig. 4) and not the text. It is likely the location of the rock enclosure drawn and described in HILDA's notes (Fig. 5).

190 The text is narrow at this point because it is written along the side of Fig. 5.

191 HILDA's notes describe what appears to be an enclosure with Eighteenth Dynasty pottery on the mountain behind the Ahmose Terrace Temple. This enclosure corresponds to the crosshairs ⊕ on FLINDERS' drawing in Fig. 4. Satellite imagery in Google Earth shows a feature at this location which may correspond to the position of the crosshairs.

192 This hill corresponds to the drawing of the *gebel* behind the Tomb of Ahmose (Fig. 3). In the letter from FLINDERS' "Journal" cited above, he describes how he ascended the *gebel* at this point to find flint implements. The sketches in Figs. 3 and 4 show the path of their ascent.

FLINDERS PETRIE's "Journal" about the Tenting Trip[193]

"On 2 March 1899 Hilda + I went off on a tenting trip westward, we riding the horse + a donkey, Ali on another donkey, + a camel with baggage. We went along the edge of the desert hunting out the cemeteries, spending two days in reaching Abydos. We found at one cemetery the museum guard who offered to dig some tombs, in order to sell me the contents. A few miles further on we disturbed three men digging a tomb of the IVth Dynasty, while the Museum guard of that place stood by. At Abydos it was openly said that the tombs were dug at night, + that the small objects from Amelineau's work were all divided between the reis, the inspector, + the shekh. The whole region is actively pillaged, open tombs showing everywhere. And it is no better when officially worked; – we passed the cemetery of ~~M~~ EL 'Amrah which was cleared by DeMorgan. It was all raked by men under a native reis without any supervisor or record, + the only results are a few dozen sketches in DeMorgan's book[194]. Yet this was an immense cemetery about a mile across, in which thousands of graves have been attacked. Hardly any were really cleared out, only irregular holes dug somewhere within each grave, + some of the contents pulled out. The whole place has been sacrificed to the grossest carelessness; not a tenth of the objects secured, + no notice taken of the pottery. In fact at the Ghizeh Museum[195] there is no approach to a decent set of the prehistoric pottery, though a hundred graves in any cemetery would give a fair series.

At Abydos we spent one day, namely going over the great temples there. I also looked sufficiently into the prospects for future work to see how much remains to be done, – some years work yet, I should say. We purposely avoided going over Amelineau's sites, + avoided a recognition when we chanced to meet him, as I could not accept his information while intending to secure the site for my own work! He learned afterward that we had been there, and wrote fervently desiring to have been hospitable, (etc.); to which I replied politely.

I saw some of the great tombs which he has unsuccessfully attempted this year. His work is very half-hearted, + has been abandoned so soon as it was heavy + not immediately fruitful. With steady work, + a resolution to take a dozen blanks in searching for a big prize, I have no doubt that there are great results still to be obtained from Abydos. I say nothing of detail here as I do not know whether we shall be allowed to work; but half a dozen parts of the place would such be a finer prospect than any site I have had since Thebes.

As the high desert is close behind Abydos – only 2 miles, or so – + we had not had any desert hunting ~~since~~ this year, we went up on the top for a day, + brought down many dozen palaeolithic flints, but nothing very good. My prizes were two splendid large flints which I picked up under my donkey's feet in the low valleys by the cultivation. One of these proves that the Nile had gone down during Palaeo[lithic] times to the present level, or nearly so, as this is chipped from a Nile-gravel flint. I found on the high plateau, within 50 f[ee]t of the top, at 1000 f[ee]t or more above Nile, large masses of river gravels, of the Nile before it had cut down the present valley 1000 f[ee]t + more in the limestone rock. These high gravels were stained brown like the other flints of the high plateau."

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[193] Griffith Institute, Oxford University. Petrie Journals 1898–1899 (Hu – Part 1), pp. 46–49. The letter is not dated but was written perhaps in mid March, 1899 immediately after their tenting trip. An excerpt of the letter is published by K. SOWADA, in: *BACE* 7, p. 94.

[194] See above, note 47.

[195] The Giza Museum, precursor to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, held the Egyptian national collection of antiquities and served as the offices for the Antiquities Service from 1890–1902 (D. ABOU-GHAZI, *The Journey of the Egyptian Museum from Boulaq to Kasr el-Nil*, in: *ASAE* 67, 1991, pp. 15–18; M. M. ELDAMATY, *The Egyptian Museum*, in: A. WIESE/W. BRODBECK (eds.), *Tutankhamun the Golden Beyond. Tomb Treasures from the Valley of the Kings*, Basel 2004, pp. 17–26; H. MORLIER, *Avant le concours. Les musées de Boulaq et de Giza*, in: E. GODOLI/M. VOLAIT (eds.), *Concours pour le musée des Antiquités égyptiennes du Cairo, 1895. D'une rive a l'autre*, Paris 2010, pp. 25–29).

Tab. 4 State of research and preservation of sites since the PETRIES' survey

Site	Site Alias[196]	MSA Site Name[197]	Surveys and Excavations	Condition as of 2013[198]
Site 1				Destroyed (Fields, Houses)
Site 2				Destroyed (Fields)
Site 3				Threatened (Houses)
Site 4				Destroyed (Houses)
Site 5				Threatened (Houses)
Site 6	El-Batha			Destroyed (Houses)
Site 7	Hosh el-'Amuri, Abu 'Umuri, ME 76/45	Abu 'Amûri (أبو عمورى)	FAM (Antiquities Service) 1936[199]; VERMEERSCH ET AL. (BMEPP) 1975–1976[200]	Registered, Threatened (Fields)
Site 8				Destroyed (Fields)
Site 9				Destroyed (Houses, Fields)
Site 10				Destroyed (Fields)
Site 11	Arakee, Gebel el-'Arak	Gebel el-'Araqı (جبل العراكى)		Registered, Threatened
Site 12				Destroyed (Houses, Fields)
Site 13		Hagar ed-Dahesah (حجر الدهسة)		Registered?
Site 14	Esh-Sheikh Salam	El-Hagg Salam (سلام الحاج)	MUSI (Antiquities Service) 1899[201]	Registered
Site 15	Nag' et-Turki, el-Karnak			Threatened (Fields, Cemetery, Dumping)
Site 16				Destroyed (Fields)
Site 17	S83-22, S83-23	el-Ka'imat (الكعيمات)	PATCH (UPenn) 1983[202]	Registered, Threatened (Looting holes present)
Site 18	Deir en-Nawahid, ed-Deir	en-Nawahid (النواهض)	'ASFOUR (EAO) 1947[203]	Registered, Threatened (Houses)
Site 19	S83-20		PATCH (UPenn) 1983[204]	Threatened (Houses)
Site 20				Destroyed (Houses)
Site 21	el-'Amra, S83-4	Nag' el-'Amra, el-'Amra (نجع العمرة – العمرة)	MACIVER/MACE (EEF) 1900–1901[205]; PATCH (UPenn) 1983[206]; HILL (UPenn) 2008[207]	Registered, Threatened (Quarry, Houses, Fields)
Site 22				Destroyed (Cemetery)

[196] Site aliases include the published site names and designations for the sites provided by surveys.

[197] MSA registered sites are found in CULTNAT, *Archaeological Sites in Qena Governorate* (http://www.cultnat.org); ID., *Archaeological Sites in Sohag Governorate* (http://www.cultnat.org).

[198] Entries on the condition of each site are based on visual inspection of the area in Google Earth's satellite imagery from 2012–2013.

[199] See above, note 59.

[200] See above, note 53.

[201] See above, note 56.

[202] Site 17 is perhaps the same as PATCH's sites S83-22 and S83-23 according to their positions on her map (D. C. PATCH, *Origin*, esp. map 5–7 p. 136, map 6).

[203] See above, note 51. PATCH attributes ASFOUR's excavations to her Site S83-19 (D. C. PATCH, *Origin*, pp. 386–388). In fact her site is probably to be found north of his excavations.

[204] Site 19 is perhaps the same as PATCH's S83-20 according to its position on her MAP (D. C. PATCH, *Origin*, pp. 389–390, 136, map 6).

[205] D. RANDALL-MACIVER/A. C. MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*.

[206] D. C. PATCH, *Origin*, pp. 215, 378–381.

[207] J. A. HILL, *Interregional Trade, Cultural Exchange, and Specialized Production in the Late Predynastic. Archaeological Analysis of el-Amra, Upper Egypt*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 2010; J. HILL/T. HERBICH, *Life in the Cemetery. Late Predynastic Settlement at El-Amra*, in: R. F. FRIEDMAN/P. N. FISKE (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July – 1st August 2008*, *OLA* 205, Leuven 2011, pp. 109–135.

Tab. 4 State of research and preservation of sites since the PETRIES' survey (continuation)

Site	Site Alias[196]	MSA Site Name[197]	Surveys and Excavations	Condition as of 2013[198]
Site 23	Sinki, Nag' Ahmad Khalifa, S83-13	Sinki (سنكى)	SWELIM/DREYER (DAI) 1979–1981[208]; PATCH (UPenn) 1983[209]; PAPAZIAN (Copenhagen) 2012[210]	Registered, Threatened (Houses, Fields)
Site 24	ATP10 FS 015		KRAEMER (ATP) 2010[211]	Threatened (Cemetery, Houses, Dumping)
Site 25	South Abydos, Tetisheri Pyramid	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (ابيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	CURRELLY (EEF) 1902[212]; HARVEY (ATP) 2004[213], 2010	Registered, Threatened (Cemetery)
Site 26	South Abydos, Ahmose Pyramid, S83-3, S83-62	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (ابيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	MACE (EEF) 1899–1900[214]; PATCH (UPenn) 1983[215]; HARVEY (ATP) 1993, 2001[216], 2006	Registered, Protected
Site 27	South Abydos, Ahmose Town, Wahsut	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (ابيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	CURRELLY (EEF) 1902[217]; EADY (EAO) 1966–1967[218]; EZ ZAHER (EAO) 1971[219]; EL KHATEB (EAO) 1982[220]; WEGNER (UPenn) 1996, 2001, 2004, 2011[221]	Registered, Threatened (Houses)
Site 28	Cem. Φ and X; Cem. B and C	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (ابيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	MACE (EEF) 1899; AYRTON/LOAT (EEF) 1909[222]	Registered, Threatened (Fields)
Site 29	Temple of Sethos I, Seti Temple, Cenotaph of Seti I	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (ابيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	CAULFEILD/GARSTANG/PETRIE/MURRAY (EEF, ERA) 1899–1904[223]; PEDRIZET/LEFEBVRE (Antiquities Service) 1909–1914[224]; CALVERELY ET AL. (EES) 1926–1949[225]; BAINES (EES) 1979–1981, 1983–1984, 1988, 1997[226]	Registered
Site 30	Temple of Ramesses II, Ramesses Temple	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (ابيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	KUHLMANN (DAI) 1977–1978, 1981–1982, 1990?[227]; ISKANDER/GOELET (NYU) 2008–2013	Registered

208 G. DREYER/N. SWELIM, *Die kleine Stufenpyramide von Abydos-Süd (Sinki). Grabungsbericht, in: MDAIK* 38, 1982, pp. 83–93.

209 D. C. PATCH, *Origin*, pp. 382–383.

210 P. SPENCER, *Digging Diary*, in: *EA* 42, Spring 2013, p. 27.

211 B. KRAEMER, *Wandering upon the Desert Besides the dhn.t Hapetnebes*, in preparation.

212 E. R. AYRTON ET AL., *Abydos* III, pp. 35–37.

213 ST. P. HARVEY, *The Last Egyptian Queen's Pyramid. New Discoveries at Abydos*, in: *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 188, Winter 2006, pp. 20–23.

214 D. RANDALL-MACIVER/A. MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pp. 75–76.

215 D. C. PATCH, *Origin*, pp. 208–214, 376–377.

216 ST. P. HARVEY, *Cults, passim*; ID., *New Evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's Funerary Cult*, in: *EA* 24, 1994, pp. 3–6.

217 E. R. AYRTON ET AL., *Abydos* III, pp. *37–38*.

218 KEMP noted "1966 excavations by the SAE" in South Abydos (B. J. KEMP, *Abydos*, p. 41, note 21). DOROTHY EADY'S (a.k.a. Omm Seti) notes about this excavation are cited in ST. P. HARVEY, *Cults*, pp. 115–117.

219 M. MAMDOUH ABD EZ-ZAHER undertook EAO excavations "2 km south of the temples of Abydos" (J. LECLANT, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1971–1972*, in: *Orientalia* 24, 1973, p. 303).

220 A. EL KHATEB undertook EAO excavations "in the town of Ahmose north of the pyramid of Ahmose" (J. LECLANT, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1981–1982*, in: *Orientalia* 53, 1984, p. 374).

221 For the University of Pennsylvania excavations, see the bibliography in J. WEGNER, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, PPYE* 8, New Haven 2007.

222 For references to both excavations, see above, note 172.

223 A. ST. G. CAULFEILD, *The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (Sety I), ERA* 8, London 1902; J. GARSTANG, *El Arabah*, pp. 37–39; M. A. MURRAY, *The Osireion at Abydos, ERA* 9, London 1904, pp. 35–38.

224 P. PEDRIZET/G. LEFEBVRE, *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos. Nos. 1–658*, Nancy/Paris/Strasbourg 1919.

225 For references, see above, note 175.

226 J. BAINES, *Abydos, Temple of Sethos I. Preliminary Report*, in: *JEA* 70, 1984, pp. 13–22; ID., *Techniques of Decoration in the Hall of Barques in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos*, in: *JEA* 75, 1989, pp. 13–30; J. BAINES/J. HENDERSON/A. MIDDLETON, *Black Pigment from the Hall of Barques in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos. Additional Comments*, in: *JEA* 76, 1990, p. 207. The latest work was reported in J. LECLANT/G. CLERC, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1996–1997*, in: *Orientalia* 67, 1998, p. 371.

227 K. P. KUHLMANN, *Der Tempel Ramses II. in Abydos. Vorbericht über eine Neuaufnahme*, in: *MDAIK* 35, 1979, pp. 189–193; ID., *Der Tempel Ramses II. in Abydos. Zweiter Bericht über die Neuaufnahme*, in: *MDAIK* 38, 1982, pp. 355–362. The latest work was reported in J. LECLANT/G. CLERC, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1989–1990*, in: *Orientalia* 60, 1991, p. 209.

Tab. 4 State of research and preservation of sites since the PETRIES' survey (continuation)

Site	Site Alias[196]	MSA Site Name[197]	Surveys and Excavations	Condition as of 2013[198]
Site 31	Osiris Temple Enclosure, Kom es-Sultan	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (إبيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	GARSTANG (ERA) 1899[228]; PETRIE (EEF, ERA) 1901–1903[229]; O'CONNOR (Penn–Yale) 1967–1969, 1978–1979[230]; ADAMS (UPenn) 1991, 2005[231]; MARLAR (IFA) 2004[232]	Registered, Threatened (Houses)
Site 32	Shunet ez-Zebib, Shunah	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (إبيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	AYRTON (EEF) 1903–1904[233]; O'CONNOR/ADAMS (Penn–Yale, IFA) 1986, 1988–1989, 1991, 1995, 2001–2002[234]	Registered
Site 33	North Cem.; Cem. D (MACE) & E (GARSTANG); Cem. B, C, F, O, W, X, & Z (PEET)	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (إبيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	MACE (EEF) 1899[235]; GARSTANG (ERA) 1900[236]; GARSTANG (U. Liverpool) 1906–1909[237]; PEET (EEF) 1910–1914[238]; RICHARDS (UPenn) 1988[239]	Registered, Threatened (Fields)
Site 34	Umm el-Qaab, Royal Tombs	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (إبيدوس العرابة المدفونة)	PETRIE (EEF) 1899–1901[240]; NAVILLE (EEF) 1909–1911[241]; KAISER/DREYER (DAIK) 1977, 1980–1981, 1983, 1985, 1988–1989, 1991–1997, 1999–2004, 2007–2013[242]	Registered
Site 35	Mountain Behind Ahmose Terrace Temple	el-'Arâba el-Madfuna, Abydos (إبيدوس العرابة المدفونة)		Preserved (Unnoticed)

228 J. GARSTANG, *El Arabah*, p. 23, Pl. 37.

229 W. M. F. PETRIE, *Abydos* I; ID., *Abydos* II.

230 D. O'CONNOR, *Abydos. A Preliminary Report of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition*, in: *Expedition* 10/1, 1967, pp. 10–23; ID., *Fieldwork in Egypt*, in: *Expedition* 11/1, 1968, pp. 27–30; ID., *Abydos and the University Museum, 1898–1969*, in: *Expedition* 12/1, 1969, pp. 28–29; ID., *Abydos. The University Museum-Yale Expedition*, in: *Expedition* 21/2, 1979, pp. 46–49.

231 M. ADAMS, *The Abydos Settlement Site Project. Investigation of a Major Provincial Town in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period*, in: C. EYRE (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge 3–9 September 1995*, OLA 82, Leuven 1998, pp. 19–30; ID., *Community and Society in Egypt in the First Intermediate Period. An Archaeological Investigation of the Abydos Settlement Site*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 2004.

232 M. MARLAR, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos. An Archaeological Investigation of the Architecture and Decorative Elements of Two Temple Phases*, PhD thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, New York 2009.

233 E. AYRTON ET AL., *Abydos* III, pp. 1–5.

234 For a synopsis of the IFA team's excavations, survey, and conservation, as well as additional references, see D. O'CONNOR, *Abydos First Pharaohs and Osiris*, pp. 158–180.

235 D. RANDALL-MACIVER/A. MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*. Kemp has determined the location of MACE'S excavation from his published statements, photographs, a sketch map, etc. (B. J. KEMP/R. S. MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt*, SDAIK 7, Mainz 1980, p. 287).

236 J. GARSTANG, *El Arabah*. KEMP has determined the location of GARSTANG'S excavation from his published statements, photographs, a sketch map, etc. (B. J. KEMP/R. S. MERRILLEES, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

237 GARSTANG never published these excavations. Their approximate locations can be worked out from his records and photographs in the Garstang Museum of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool (B. KEMP/R. S. MERRILLEES, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 288; S. SNAPE, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, Liverpool 1986, pp. 25–67).

238 The positions of excavated cemeteries from the Egypt Exploration Fund's expeditions to Abydos in 1910–1914 are sketched in T. E. PEET, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* II. *1911–1912, Memoir EEF* 34, London 1914, p. xiv (Fig. 1).

239 J. E. RICHARDS, *Mortuary Variability and Social Differentiation in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1992, pp. 200–287; EAD., *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt. Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 156–169, 181–219.

240 W. M. F. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs* I; ID., *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties* II, *Memoir EEF* 21, London 1902.

241 E. NAVILLE, *The Cemeteries of Abydos Part* I. *The Mixed Cemeteries and Umm el-Ga'ab*, *Memoir EEF* 33, London 1914, pp. 35–39.

242 For the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo excavations in Umm el-Qaab, see the reports by W. KAISER/G. DREYER ET AL., entitled *Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof*, in: *MDAIK* 35, 1979, pp. 155–163; in: *MDAIK* 38, 1982, pp. 211–269; in: *MDAIK* 46, 1990, pp. 54–90; in: *MDAIK* 49, 1993, pp. 23–62; in: *MDAIK* 52, 1996, pp. 11–81; in: *MDAIK* 54, 1998, pp. 77–167; in: *MDAIK* 56, 2000, pp. 43–129; in: *MDAIK* 62, 2006, pp. 67–130; in: *MDAIK* 67, pp. 53–92; as well as G. DREYER, *Umm el-Qaab* I. *Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*, *AV* 86, Mainz 1998; U. HARTUNG, *Umm el-Qaab* II. *Importkeramik aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab) und die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, *AV* 92, Mainz 2001; U. EFFLAND/A. EFFLAND, *Funde aus dem Mittleren Reich bis zur Mamlukenzeit aus Umm el-Qaab*, in: *MDAIK* 62, 2006, pp. 131–150; and U. EFFLAND/J. BUDKA/A. EFFLAND, *Studien zum Osiriskult in Umm el-Qaab/Abydos. Ein Vorbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 66, 2010, pp. 19–91.

Abstract

Field notebooks of FLINDERS and HILDA PETRIE from their 1898–1899 season at Abadiyeh and Hu contain records of an informal archaeological survey that they made in the desert between Hu and Abydos in March 1899. It looks like this survey was meant to lay the groundwork for an additional excavation season in the cemeteries to the west of Hu to continue those of 1898–1899. Instead of carrying this plan out, PETRIE moved to Abydos in 1899, taking over the site from ÉMILE AMÉLINEAU. Their notes indicate the existence of many archaeological sites between Hu and Abydos and, together with their letters, provide information about the history of AMÉLINEAU's and PETRIE's excavations in Abydos. These notes are transcribed, collated, and edited here for the first time. They are also situated in their context of the careers of FLINDERS and HILDA PETRIE as well as the history of archaeological research at Abydos.

New Evidence for a Middle Kingdom Harbor Basin at Dahshur?

By Gregory Marouard[1]

The use of satellite images has seen considerably advancement over the past ten years. However, the increasingly popular utilization of remote sensing tools demands some caution, because in the past various cases of hypotheses followed by announcements in the media about new discoveries have been rather carelessly promoted. Despite the skepticism that has occasionally been generated, the use of this method of detection is highly valuable especially for the preliminary observations and planning stages of new archaeological survey and excavation work.

In addition to providing high-resolution images of Egypt, online and free of charge, the well-known Google Earth© software offers the possibility to 'move back in time' and to obtain different images of the same site over a period of about ten years. The comparison of all these images often shows to what extent the very recent urban and agricultural developments have affected and frequently obscured the archaeological remains, but it should not be limited to the evaluation of the impact of recent destructions and occasional looting activities. On the other hand, for example, important changes in the groundwater level along the borders of the Nile valley or in certain areas of the Delta can have a positive impact on the appearance of structures that have rarely been visible on the surface before[2].

During some monitoring activity carried out in the region north of the Dahshur lake, the comparison and partial enhancement of about twenty satellite images has led to the discovery of a recurring and important anomaly probably corresponding to the harbor of the mortuary complex of Amenemhat III in the southern Dahshur necropolis (Fig. 1), which might be the first basin discovered in association with a pyramid complex for the Middle Kingdom.

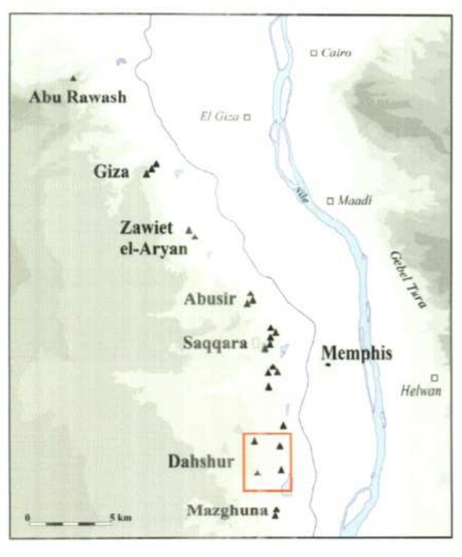
With regard to Jacques de Morgan's excavations at the site (1894–1895) followed by additional fieldwork conducted by Dieter Arnold for the DAI (1976–1983), this royal mortuary complex, together with the pyramid complex of Senwosret II at el-Lahun, is one of the best-known and most complete examples for the Middle Kingdom. In fact, these are the only two cases where the existence of a Valley temple has been confirmed archaeologically being situated at the end of a causeway or along a clear axis serving a comparable function[3]. But so far no evidence of any port facility has been detected for a Middle Kingdom complex[4]. Arnold obviously did not exclude the existence of such a harbor element for the complex of

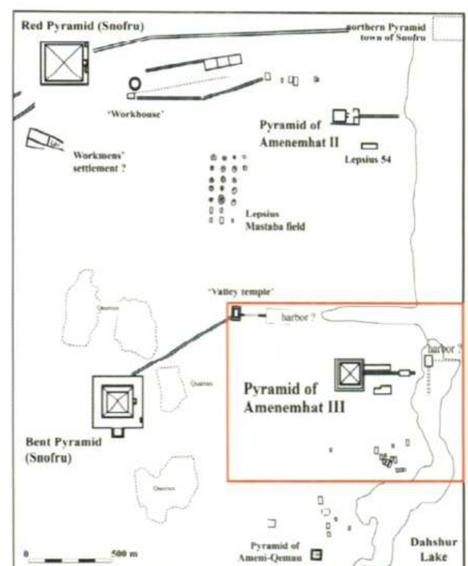
[1] This short communication has been completed with the invaluable support of the DAI team at Dahshur, led by Stephan Seidlmayer and Nicole Alexanian (field director), to whom I wish to express my sincere gratitude here, especially to Nicole for her precious reviews and advice and for all the information about the current work of the DAI/Freie Universität at Dahshur.

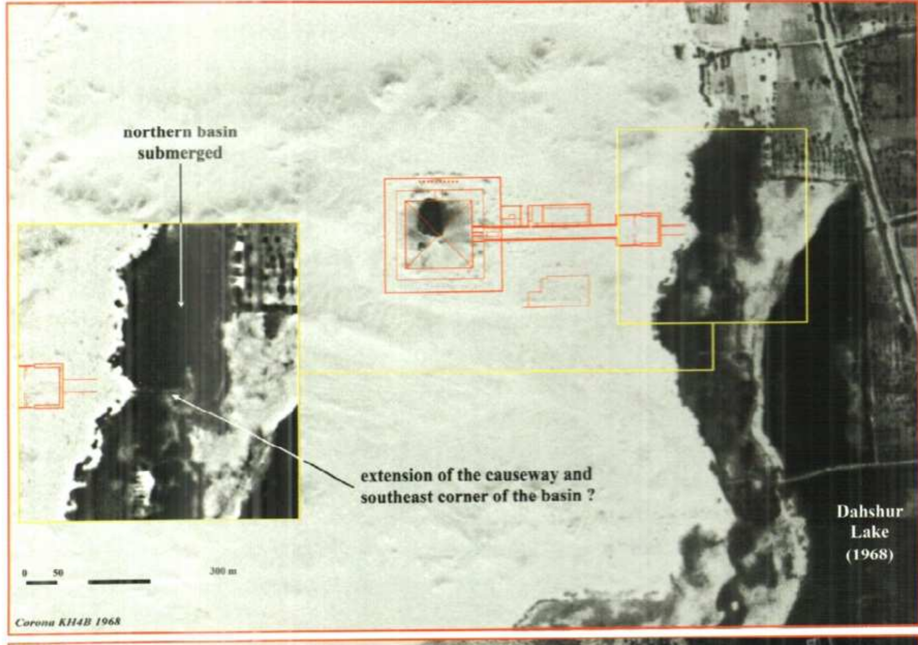
[2] For some recent studies and examples: M. Barta/V. Bruna/R. Krivanek, *Research at South Abusir in 2001–2002, Methods and Results*, in: *Pamatky Archeologicke* 94, 2003, pp. 3–12; M. Barta, *Satellite Imaging in the Pyramid Fields*, in: *Egyptian Archaeology* 26, 2005, pp. 3–6; Fr. Leclere, *An Egyptian Temple at Tell Dafana*, in: *Egyptian Archaeology* 30, 2007, pp. 14–17; G. Marouard, *Kom el-Dahab Interpreted*, in: *Egyptian Archaeology* 45, 2014, pp. 25–27.

[3] About the Valley temple at Dahshur: J. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895*, Vienna 1903, pp. 99–100, figg. 143–144, pl. XVI; D. Arnold/R. Stadelmann, *Dahschur. Zweiter Grabungsbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 33, 1977, pp. 15–20 (see p. 15, Abb. 1, Taf. 1); D. Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III. in Dahschur*, *AV* 53, Mainz 1987 (see Taf. 1 – view of the basin area inundated – Taf. 36). On the recent excavation at the Valley temple at Lahun, Z. Horváth, *Le temple de Sésostris II de Lahoun revisité*, in: *Pharaon* 7, 2012, pp. 45–50; Z. Horváth, *What Was the "August Chamber" of el-Lahun? A Lexicographical Approach to the Cult Complex of Sesostris II*, in: *Acta Antiqua* 46, 2006, pp. 99–118.

[4] Few pyramid complexes, only for the Old Kingdom, have delivered extensive archaeological evidence concerning the receiving basin putting the Valley temple in physical connection to the Nile valley or one of its many tributaries, canals or oxbow lakes. The best preserved is the example of King Unas at Saqqara (A. Labrousse/A. Moussa, *Le temple d'accueil du complexe funeraire du roi Ounas*, *BdE* 111, Le Caire 1996, pp. 14–23, fig. 8, 38, pl. XVI). There are also reports about the two Valley temples of Sa-







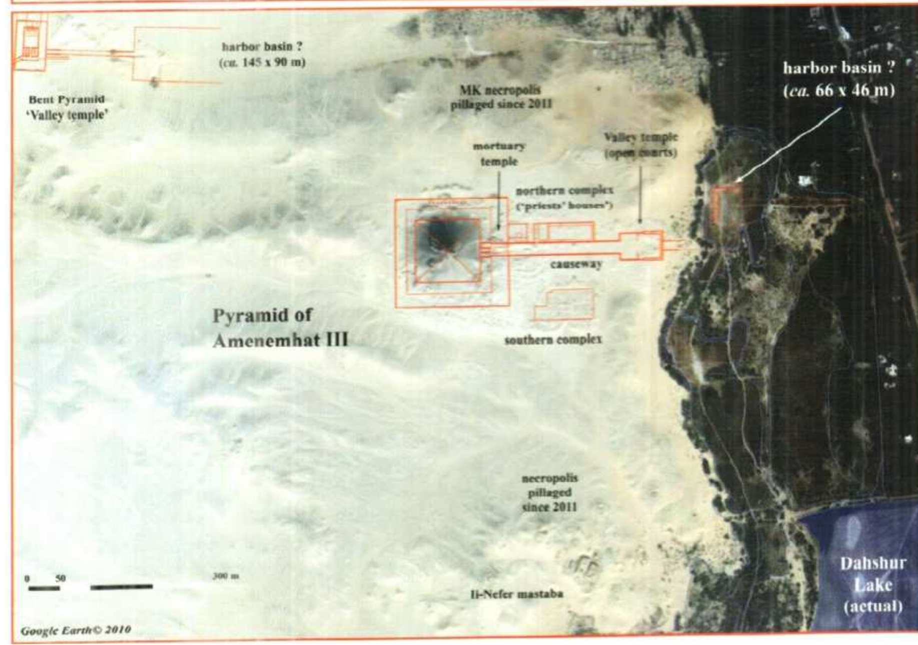


Fig. 1
Localization of the Pyramid complex of Amenemhat III and comparative views from 1968 (Corona KH4B) and 2010 (Google Earth ©) on the basin area

Amenemhat III, which he had logically projected in the axis of the causeway[5], in an area that has gradually been obscured by the development of crops in the last century.

A fast changing landscape

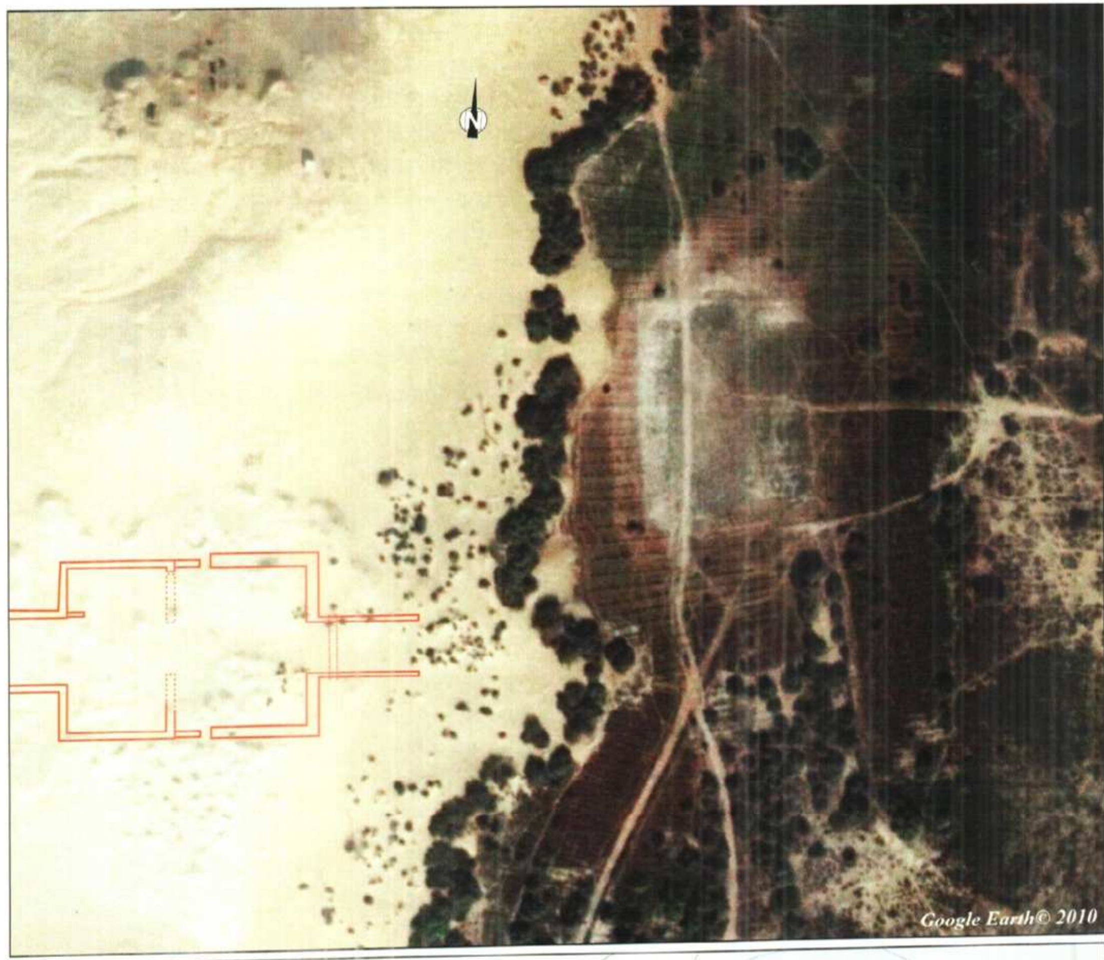
Currently located in the cultivable area, less than 80 m to the northeast of the eastern limit of the Valley temple, the possible basin is not situated in the exact continuation of the first section of the causeway but just to the north of it. It is oriented according to a perpendicular north-south direction but perfectly consistent with the planning of the funerary complex (Fig. 2). The present surface of the anomaly area reveals *a priori* no archaeological remains. Since its abandonment, the whole structure has entirely disappeared due to its progressive filling by the dual action of the eolian sand and the fluvial silt deposits from the successive flood cycles. According to the nu-

Tab. 1 Comparative table of satellite images available on Google Earth©

	Dahshur Lake area			Basin of the Amenemhat III funerary complex				
Date of the picture listed by month	Dry	25 % inundated	50 % inundated	Dry	Inundated	Visibility 0 = invisible 5 = highly visible	Dimensions of the basin (N-S) × (E-W)	Dimensions of inundated area (N-S) × (E-W)
Nov. 8 2009*			×		×	0	–	110 × 63 m
Dec. 28 2004			×		×	0	–	80 × 50 m
Feb. 03 2008			×	×		1	–	75 × 55 m
Feb. 07 2007			×		×	1	–	85 × 63 m
Feb. 15 2013			×		×	0	–	67 × 48 m
Feb. 21 2008		×		×		1	–	71 × 55 m
May 11 2010*	×			×		5	64 × 47 m	–
May 13 2013*	×			×		4	67 × 47 m	–
May 19 2011	×			×		5	63 × 48 m	–
May 22 2011	×			×		5	63 × 47 m	–
June 12 2011	×			×		5	64 × 48 m	–
June 24 2012		×		×		4	68 × 46 m	–
Jul. 01 2004*	×			×		3	63 × 44 m	–
Jul. 11 2010	×			×		5	63 × 46 m	–
Jul. 12 2013	×			×		3	68 × 47 m	–
Jul. 21 2012	×			×		4	66 × 47 m	–
Jul. 26 2013	×			×		5	65 × 47 m	–
Aug. 13 2013	×			×		2	65 × 45 m	–
Sep. 12 2012	×			×		3	63 × 48 m	–

hure and Pepi II (G. Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pépi II*, *Fouilles à Saqqarah* 17/3, Cairo 1936–41, pp. 5–8, fig. 5, pls. 1, 10, 11) pyramid complex although no precise limit and size can be given for the harbor area. The recent discovery of a part of the basin (KKT-E area) from the complex of Queen Khentkawes is also noteworthy: M. Lehner, *Valley Complex for a Queen Who Would Be King*, in: *AERAGram* 10/2, 2009, pp. 7–9; M. Lehner, *The 2011 Field Season Excavations: The Khentkawes Basin and the Town Beyond*, in: *AERA Annual Report 2010–2011*, 2011, pp. 6–9; M. Lehner, *KKT-E: The Buried Basin and the Town Beyond*, in: *AERAGram* 12/1, 2011, pp. 10–13; M. Lehner et al., *Re-examining the Khentkaues Town*, in: N. Strudwick/H. Strudwick (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC*, Oxford 2011, pp. 143–191 (see pp. 160–167). Finally, in 2009 the DAI/Freie Universität team at Dahshur has discovered a new harbor installation, which measures 145 m by 90 m, delimited by a southern mudbrick wall and connected through a vaulted mudbrick causeway to the 'Valley temple' of the Bent Pyramid. For a detailed description, see N. Alexanian/W. Bebermeier/D. Blaschta, *Untersuchungen am unteren Aufweg der Knickpyramide in Dahschur*, in: *MDAIK* 68, 2012, pp. 1–30 (see pp. 10–14, 22–27, Abb. 2, 3, 10, 11); N. Alexanian/W. Bebermeier/D. Blaschta, *The Discovery of the Lower Causeway of the Bent Pyramid and the Reconstruction of the Ancient Landscape at Dahshur*, in: Y. Tristant/M. Ghilardi (eds.), *Landscape Archaeology. Egypt and the Mediterranean World, International Colloquium on Geoarchaeology, Cairo, 19th–21th September 2010, BdE forthcoming*. See also preliminary reports on the DAIK website (to be published in *ASAE*).

5 Cf. D. Arnold/R. Stadelmann, in: *MDAIK* 33, 1977, p. 15.



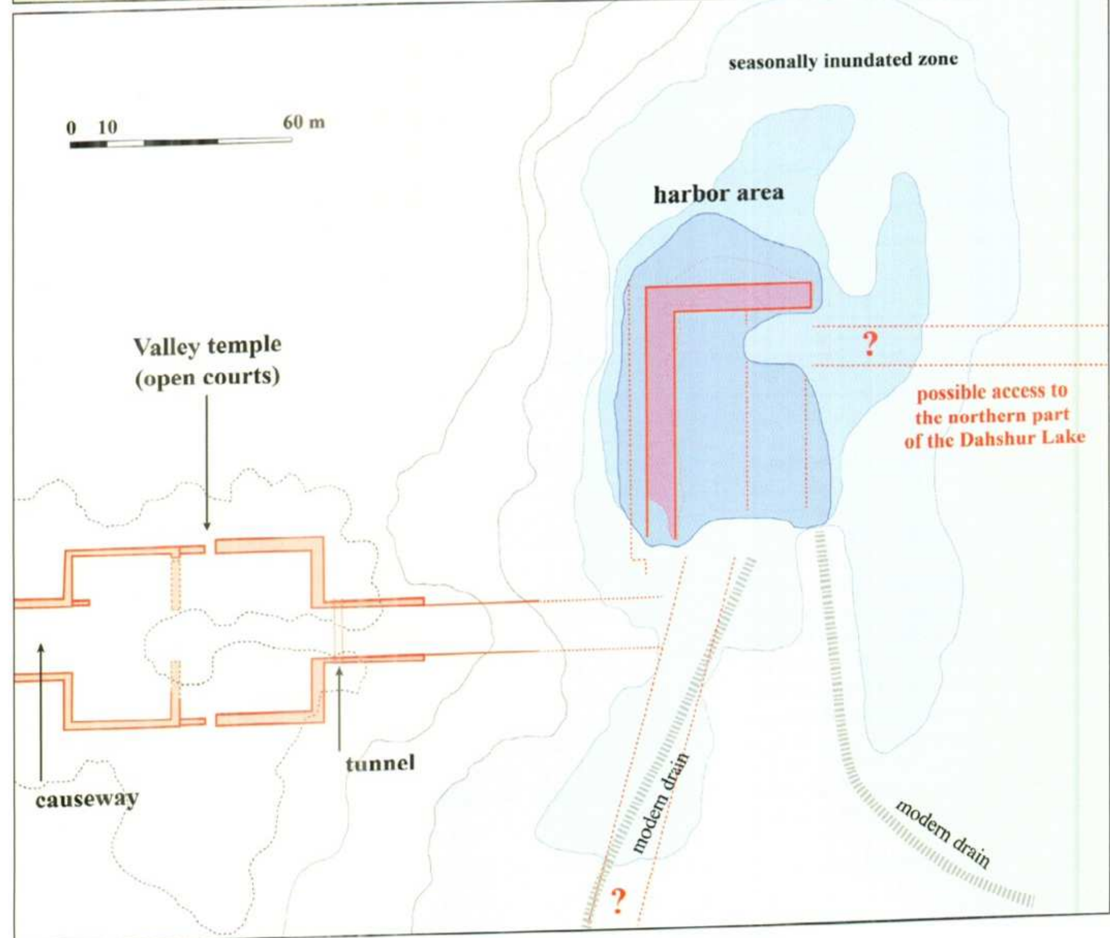


Fig. 2
Localization and reconstruction of the harbor basin area at the extrem[ity] of the first section of the causeway

merous drill cores made by the DAI in the Dahshur floodplain, this construction lies probably quite deeply buried under a thick layer of alluvial deposits[6].

Aerial photographs from 1924[7], taken outside of the Nile flood period, show a very dry area, which was at that time characterized by a thick eolian sandy surface without any traces of agricultural activity. The boundaries of a harbor basin seem barely recognizable, but clear alignments in a north-south orientation and a rectangular depression with moisture concentrations strongly indicate the presence of a large filled structure here.

The area was still flooded on a regular basis until the late 60s, as can be witnessed on the photograph from the spy satellite Corona dating to November 18th, 1968 (KH4B-DS1105-2235DF021), when the effects of the construction of the Aswan High Dam were not yet effective[8]. However, for this period a significant extension of the crop cultivation through drainage activity, leveling and fragmentation of this space for the creation of agricultural plots can be noted. The IGN map from 1978, which served until recently as a reference map, also shows a well-marked depression in the area of interest with a low altitude of ca. 21.80 m asl[9].

When not used as a soccer field by the children of the nearby village, this area is still subject to cultivation attempts with regular mechanical tillage on a very shallow depth, as has been done very recently. If this activity has undoubtedly precipitated the erasure of the last traces on the actual surface, it seems paradoxically to have brought out more clearly the traces of the basin superstructure, especially during the dry periods of spring and summer where possible elements constructed of stone appear very distinctly in the surrounding silty substrate.

On the 20 satellite images available from 2004 up to 2013 (Fig. 3), 13 photographs were taken between the beginning of May and the middle of September showing the area of interest and the entire Lake Dahshur completely dry. On five other pictures the limits of the basin are not visible and the zone is partially flooded, but only for a period between early November and mid-February. It is evident that if the annual Nile flood does not affect the filling of this depression anymore, winter precipitation and artificial irrigation[10] seem to have helped to keep a little wet reservoir here.

A well-preserved harbor basin?

The newly identified anomaly shows a north-south orientation and it covers an area of up to 73 m from north to south and stretches for 57 m from east to west, which encompasses slightly more than 4 hectares in total (Fig. 2). This location of a basin in perpendicular axis to the causeway may appear surprising, but it can also reveal some obligations – or pragmatic choices – imposed to the builders before the construction, due to topographical particularities of the escarpment and the desert line here, circulation of flood waters in this specific area (that flowed from the south or east?) or maybe some preexisting installations related to the newly discovered harbor of the Bent Pyramid[11].

On the western and northern ends a large retaining wall can be observed that was used as a quay in inverted L-shape, whose appearance and size is very similar to the one at the northern basin of the port of

[6] Research at Giza and Dahshur has already shown the important depth of the Old Kingdom occupation levels (M. Lehner et al., *Giza Plateau Mapping Project, Seasons 2006–2007, Giza Occasional Papers* 3, Boston 2009, pp. 97–151. The numerous drill cores made by the DAI at northern and southern Dahshur demonstrate that the occupation level of the Old Kingdom can be expected at ca. 5.50–7.00 m under the actual surface level in the cultivated areas: N. Alexanian/St. Seidlmayer, *Die Residenznekropole von Dahschur. Zweiter Grabungsbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 62, 2002, pp. 19–27; W. Bebermeier et al., *Analysis of Past and Present Landscapes Surrounding the Necropolis of Dahshur*, in: *Die Erde* 142, 2011, pp. 325–352 (see pp. 338–342); N. Alexanian/W. Bebermeier/ D. Blaschta, in: *MDAIK* 68, 2012, pp. 5, 25–27, Abb. 3, 5. Recent electrical resistivity measurements confirmed this depth of about 6–8 m for the harbor installations of the Bent Pyramid (online report N. Alexanian et al., *The Necropolis of Dahshur. Tenth Excavation Report of the Work in Spring 2013*, p. 11). The average depth for the Middle Kingdom levels is still quite imprecisely established.

[7] We would like to sincerely thank N. Alexanian for bringing these old pictures to my attention whose quality and definition are very important documents for the reconstruction of the landscape at Dahshur.

[8] The depression is clearly visible on another Corona image from 1969 (KH4B-DS1106-2090DF013) taken outside of the Nile flood season. We wish to thank the CAMEL Lab (Center for Ancient Middle Eastern Landscapes) of the Oriental Institute and especially Elise MacArthur for her assistance in obtaining these declassified documents. The photograph from 1968 is also available on the Corona Atlas of the Middle East: http://corona.cast.uark.edu/index.html (checked Nov. 2014).

[9] R. Stadelmann/N. Alexanian, *Die Friedhöfe des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in Dahschur*, in: *MDAIK* 54, 1998, pp. 292–317 (see p. 297, Abb. 1). A new topographic map was recently created by the DAI team: A. Ramisch et al., *Fractals in Topography: Application to Geoarchaeological Studies in the Surroundings of the Necropolis of Dahshur, Egypt*, in: *Quaternary International* 266, 2012, pp. 34–46.

[10] An opening of the canals is generally done in autumn in order to irrigate the Lake Dahshur area and to attract birds for the hunting season. I would like to thank N. Alexanian for this information.

[11] Cf. note 4.

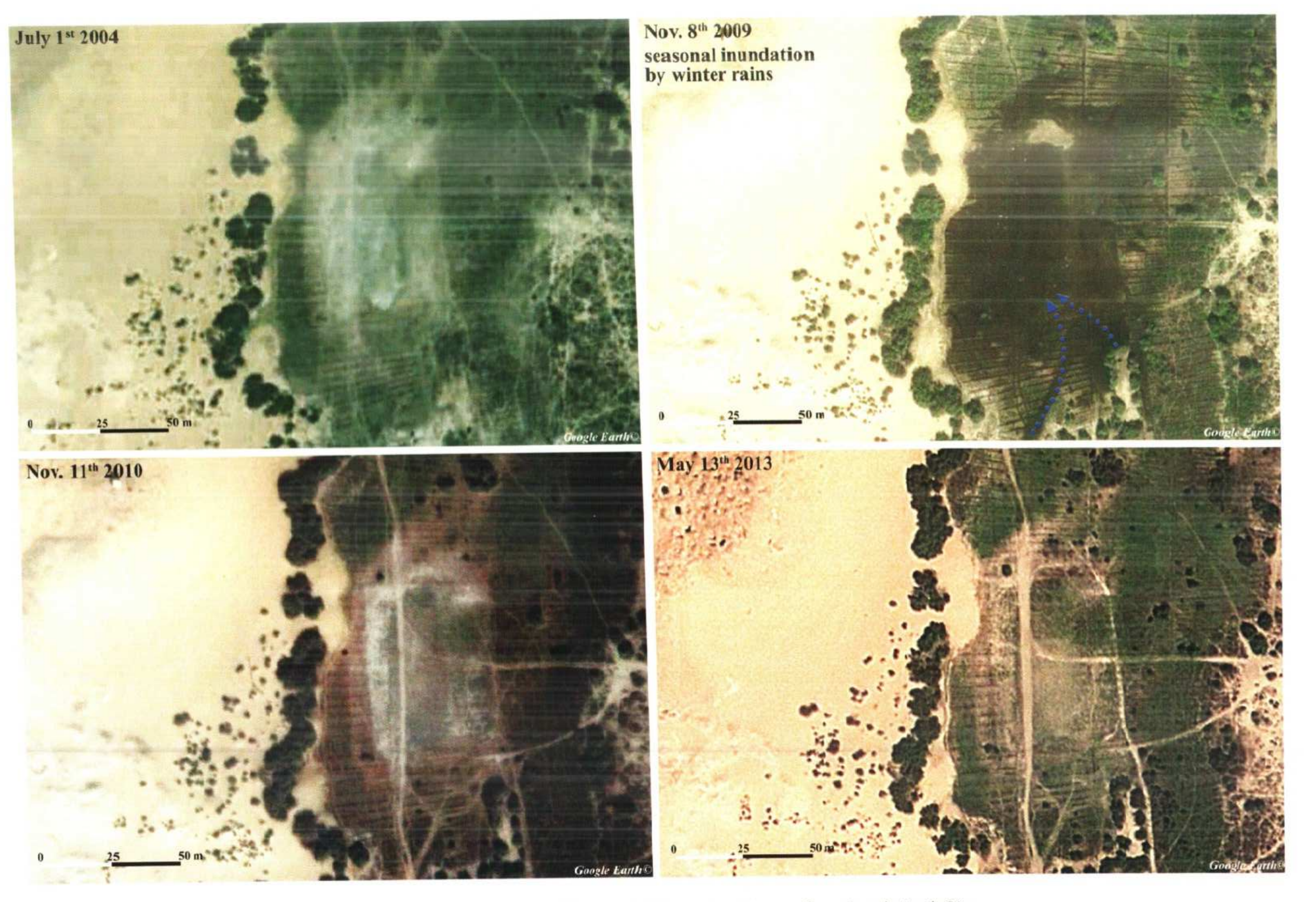


Fig. 3 Comparative views on the possible basin area (pictures from Google Earth ©)

the Unas pyramid complex[12]. The latter measures 64–66 m in length along the north-south stretch on the western side and 44–46 m in the east-west section on the northern side. Obviously very massive in size, its thickness is about 6.50–7.50 m, but we cannot exclude a significant degree of leveling of the quay wall that would be preserved here in its lower and broadest courses, a possible consequence of the leveling activities and attempts of modern cultivation in this area.

Its distinctly whitish color, which contrasts sharply with the brown alluvial soil or greenish vegetation cover (Fig. 3), maybe indicates a construction made of limestone blocks and possibly dressed stone. On half of the pictures, there is a sort of reddish-brown color corolla along the western and northern exterior of the quay with a width of 6.00–8.00 m, which might correspond to the remaining width of the foundation pit of the basin – cut into the bedrock (?) –, and maybe to the space in between filled-in by construction debris and non-silty materials after the completion of the dock.

The dock has a perfectly rectangular inner surface of more than 2000 m², measuring nearly 54 m in length and 38 m in width at the maximum extension. The eastern boundaries are less clear, some alignments are visible but it does not seem that the same materials – such as stone – have been employed here or maybe in a lesser proportion. An opening break of about 18 m wide seems to be emerging in the northeast corner and could perhaps mark the opening and direction of the canal connected with the northern end of the Dahshur Lake in order to receive the flood waters during the inundation; unless that such a necessary access had been made via a south-north oriented canal on the southern edge of the basin.

The southern end of the boundary is hardly recognizable now and could have suffered from modern irrigation work including the excavation of two drains that were recently dug in order to better distribute the water supply to this area. Unfortunately, it is only on this side that some constructed elements connecting the lower end of the causeway and the basin could have been preserved, as the Corona image still seems to reveal in the late 60s (the southwest corner of the basin is still clearly visible here, Fig. 1).

A hollow and rectangular area with a width of 22–24 m can be observed in the central part of the inner zone, which collected the winter rainfall or the irrigation waters (Fig. 3). Possibly deeper or having been the object of subsequent attempts of cleaning, this part of the basin has perhaps filled up at a slower pace or with a filling of a different nature, following the duct obstruction which ensured its access and water supply. This last assumption, which must be verified on the ground, would imply that the basin is not the preliminary phase of an unfinished project but has been in operation for some undefined period of time, at least for the construction work – before the project was consecutively abandoned to the massive collapse of the pyramid chambers – and even after if the Valley temple of the complex was partly in use and received a mortuary cult[13].

In addition to a necessary survey in form of a geomagnetic or resistivity exploration, few strategically positioned stratigraphic trenches and geo-archaeological drill cores could ultimately confirm the function of the anomaly detected by the satellite images. The north-south orientation and the surface elevation – ca. 21–22 m asl – of the basin area is still a problem at that point, especially in an intricate landscape like the Dahshur Lake which has significantly changed since Pharaonic times. Thanks to a shallow tillage the possible remains of quay walls and surrounding levels are quite visible on satellite images, but it also shows that they cannot be too deeply buried under several meters of loamy soil deposits. Despite the fact that the Old Kingdom horizon of occupation is heavily covered by 5.00–7.00 m of Nilotic sediments[14], the Middle Kingdom *stratum* seems to be logically on a different and higher level as shown by some drill cores made in the cultivated area east of the Amenemhat II complex or the Red Pyramid causeway, where these layers are less than 3.50–4.50 m below the surface[15] – a depth that could also easily correspond to the bottom of the basin?

The existence of such a construction emphasizes the importance and the necessity of a wider and dia-

[12] Cf. A. LABROUSSE/A. MOUSSA, *Le temple d'accueil du complexe funeraire du roi Ounas*, *BdE* 111, Le Caire 1996, fig. 8, pl. XVI.

[13] D. ARNOLD, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III. in Dahschur*, *AV* 53, Mainz 1987, p. 94.

[14] Cf. note 6. MARK LEHNER estimates an average of 16.00–16.50 m asl for the level of Old Kingdom settlements in Dahshur-Saqqara-Memphis area (M. LEHNER ET AL., *Giza Plateau Mapping Project, Seasons 2006–2007, Giza Occasional Papers* 3, Boston 2009, p. 144).

[15] In this first area the elevation is ca. 22.50 m asl, the Middle Kingdom layers are located about 18.00–18.50 m asl (N. ALEXANIAN ET AL., *The Necropolis of Dahshur. Second Excavation Report Autumn 2003*, 2003, pp. 12–13, Fig. 11, online report http://www.dainst.org/en/project/dahshur?ft=all). The drill cores conducted in the Red Pyramid settlement area revealed similar information with possible Middle Kingdom layers situated between 18.50 and 19.50 m asl (N. ALEXANIAN/ST. SEIDLMAYER, in: *MDAIK* 62, 2002, pp. 23–25, Abb. 15). The drill cores B 18 and B 20 made in 2008

chronic investigation concerning the complex evolution, with a focus on the old limits and the ancient occupation of Lake Dahshur from the Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom. The extensive exploration and geo-archaeological work conducted especially since 2008 by the DAI team, and the recent discovery of a deeply buried lower causeway and a possible extensive harbor installation east of the Valley temple of the Bent Pyramid[16], have already shed new light on this lake area and stressed the importance to push forward such a study.

Less preserved than the southern part, the northernmost area of the Dahshur Lake was probably more conducive for the installation of a strategic and sustainable administrative and logistical center[17] in connection with the Nile Valley network.

This specific zone needs to be investigated further, even if the most logical and consistent possibility is obviously an association of this anomaly with the mortuary complex of Amenemhat III, it cannot be excluded that it may has been pragmatically re-developed from an older canal or a preexisting installation connected to Snofru's harbor facilities attached the Valley temple of the Bent Pyramid, an area which was also largely reoccupied during the Middle Kingdom.

and 2009 a few dozens of meters north of the basin could also be very important to determinate the apparition of the possible Middle Kingdom levels of occupation, which still remain uncertain: N. Alexanian et al., *The Necropolis of Dahshur. Fifth Excavation Report Spring 2008*, 2008, pp. 2–4, Pl. 1, online report http://www.dainst.org/en/project/dahshur?ft=all; W. Bebermeier et al., in: *Die Erde* 142, 2011, pp. 340–344; N. Alexanian/W. Bebermeier/D. Blaschta, in: Y. Tristant/M. Ghilardi (eds.), *Landscape Archaeology. Egypt and the Mediterranean World, International Colloquium on Geoarchaeology, Cairo, 19th–21th September 2010, BdE forthcoming*.

16 Cf. note 4. The ongoing excavations and geomorphological research on this basin – the oldest known for a pyramid complex – will be crucial for the understanding of the northern area of the Dahshur Lake.

17 The southern pyramid town of Snofru should be located in the region of the Dahshur Lake according to N. Alexanian/St. Seidlmayer, in: *MDAIK* 62, 2002, p. 22.

The High Priest of Wepwawet, Hori
(Cairo Museum TR.23/1/15/6)

By Rasha Metawi*

Description

In most museum collections, fragmentary objects often attract little attention due to their uninviting appearance. They are usually left unpublished, and consequently their points of importance remain unrecorded. The paper in hand deals with two adjoining limestone fragments (Fig. 1 and 2) of unknown provenance in the basement of the Cairo Museum[1]. Both are assigned the temporary number TR.23/1/15/6, and are described in the museum registry as being part of the side of a sarcophagus. Their measurements are 78 × 52 × 12 cm. The surviving decoration on the two fragments divides horizontally into three registers. Of the upper register, there only remains a depiction of what seems to be the lower part of a number of thrones, or possibly the shrine on which the jackal headed god usually appears recumbent. The middle register bears an incised text in six horizontal lines, with some missing sections on the right and left. It reads as follows:

(1) [... *ḥtp di nswt Wsir*][I(a)] *ḫnty imntt pri m ẖrt nṯr ḳ3i ḥr i3t.f* [...]*r*[...]
[... An offering made by the king to Osiris], foremost of the west, who comes out of the necropolis raised on his standard [...]

(2) [...] *Wsir nb T3-ʿnḫ*[I(b)] *ʾInpw nb R-ḳrrt*[I(c)] *wr* [... (*Ḥr/nṯr/bik?*)[I(d)]] *ḥr ib Ḏ3*[*m*]*t*(?)[I(e)] [...]
[...] Osiris, lord of Ta-ankh (lit. the land of life), Anubis lord of Ra-qerert (lit. mouth of the cavern), great [... (Horus/the god/the falcon?)] residing at Djamet(?) [...]

(3) [...] *irp irṯt mnḫt snṯr ḫt nbt nfrt wʿbt bnr mrt m* (*ddt?*) [...]
[...] wine, milk, linen, incense, and every good, pure, sweet, and desirable thing as given by(?) [...]

(4) [...] (*...t.f*) *ʿnḫ nṯr ʿ3 ms*(*mz*)*?*[I(f)] *pri m b3ḥ nṯr niwt.i m ḥt ʿ3t* [...]
[...] his (...) life, the great god, presenting(?), coming forth in the presence of the local deity (lit. the god of the town) in the great mansion [...]

(5) [...] *ḥm nṯr tpy Wpw3wt Ḥri m3ʿ-ḫrw ḏd.f ii n ḫr.k nṯr ʿ3 Wsir* [...]
The high priest of Wepwawet Hori, true of voice, he says: "I come before you, great god, Osiris [...]."

(6) [...] *ṯ3w nḏm n mḥyt n k3 n Wsir*[I(g)] *imy-r ḥmw-nṯr Ḥri*[2] [...]
[...] the sweet breeze of the north for the ka of the Osiris, overseer of priests, Hori [...]

The lower register is occupied by a scene, now partly lost, showing a bald-headed man[II(a)], possibly a ritual priest, standing on the right, facing left. He wears a leopard skin over a bag tunic, and a sash kilt is wrapped around his hips[3], tucked up at the front in the form of a large bouffant apron[II(b)]. In his right hand, he holds a snake-like instrument (the so-called *wr ḥk3w*)[II(c)] possibly to apply it to the mouth of the now missing figure of the deceased, while simultaneously censing towards him with an arm-shaped cen-

* Helwan University.

1 The author would like to thank Prof. Wafaa El-Sedeak, Director of the Egyptian Museum, for giving her the permission to publish the two fragments, Mrs. Salwa Abdel Rahman (Deputy director of the Egyptian Museum), Miss Seham Abd El-Razak (Deputy Director of The Egyptian Museum), Mrs. Sabah Abd-el Razeaq and Mrs. Azza Abd el Aleam for their notable support.

2 H. Ranke, *PN* I, p. 251.8.

3 G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, Leiden 1993, pp. 65–66; R. Hall, *Egyptian Textiles, Shire Publications*, Aylesbury 1986, pp. 21–22. Cf. M. G. Houston/F. Hornblower, *Ancient Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian Costumes and Decorations*, London 1920/2002, p. 82, Fig. 87 (a, b), where this type of garment is identified as a voluminous robe, the front half of which is taken and pinned behind the waist and the back part is drawn towards the front, caught up and tucked in at the front of the waist.

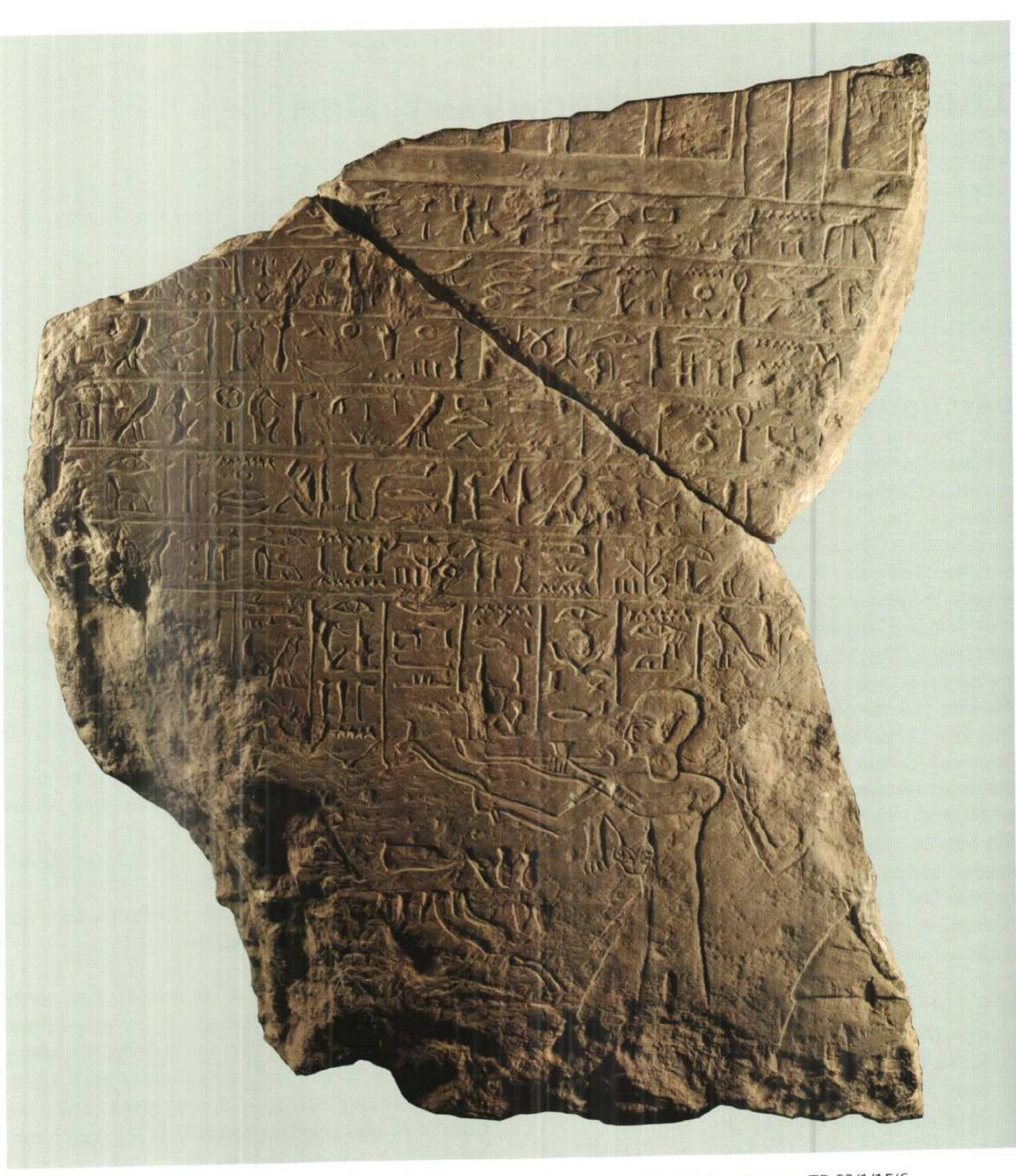


Fig. 1 Two limestone fragments of the High Priest of Wepwawet Hori, Cairo Museum TR.23/1/15/6 (Photograph courtesy of the Cairo museum)

sor held in his left hand. Before him is what appears to be a table laden with a number of instruments associated with the Opening of the Mouth ritual, topped with a foreleg. Among the instruments shown here are four adze-shaped blades, which are related to episode 26 of the Opening of the Mouth ritual, two *h3ṯs*-bottles, two straight-sided *ḥnt*-cups, and a finger-shaped implement. Behind the priest is what appears to be another male figure of whom only remains the right arm extended in a summoning gesture. Of his attire, only the front of a long plain kilt, or possibly the lower part of a bag tunic with a triangular bouffant apron, is visible. Judging from what is preserved of the scene, one may assume that the left side was originally occupied by a representation of the deceased's mummy, anthropoid coffin, or statue accompanied by



Fig. 2 Two limestone fragments of the High Priest of Wepwawet Hori, Cairo Museum TR.23/1/15/6 (Illustration by MOHAMED OSMAN)

mourners. The names of the two men featured in the scene are missing, whereas the surviving seven short columns of text cut above the scene give the names and titles of Hori and his wife. The figure of Hori's wife was most probably shown facing him in a mourning gesture, as indicated by the presence of her name, being oriented leftwards, in the two short columns of text above the offering table. The surviving text reads:

irt wpt-r3 n Wsir Ḥri

Performing the Opening of the Mouth for the Osiris Hori.

nbt pr Ḥnr.i (Ḥl.i)[I(h)]
Mistress of the house Henri (Heli).

Wsir ḥm-nṯr tpy Wpw3wt Ḥri
The Osiris, high priest of Wepwawet Hori.

I Commentary on the Text

(a) [*ḥtp di nswt Wsir*] should be restored at the beginning of this line.

(b) According to GAUTHIER *T3-ꜥnḫ* is a district of the Thirteenth nome of Lower Egypt, located in the necropolis of Asyut[4]. GARDINER demonstrated that *T3-ꜥnḫ* is named together with *R-ḳrrt* in the Medinet Habu list just before Asyut, suggesting that they were names of whole or part of the necropolis there, probably with shrines of Osiris and Anubis, respectively[5]. GARDINER also concluded that *T3-ꜥnḫ* is not attested in tombs or on coffins, although Osiris is given the title lord of *T3-ꜥnḫ* on an Abydos stela (Cairo CG 20745)[6].

(c) As stated by GARDINER *R-ḳrrt* is a name of the necropolis of Asyut[7].

(d) A falcon with a flail (Gardiner G6) can be seen here, suggesting a reading of *nṯr*, *Ḥr*, or *bik*.

(e) This group is undoubtedly a place name, since it is followed by the city determinative. The initial sign looks like a badly formed *ḏ3*. The second sign is mostly gone, but the remaining traces suggest an *m*. Towards the end of the group is a *t* followed by the city determinative. A reading of *Ḏ3mt* (part of the Theban necropolis, Medinet Habu) is, therefore, suggested[8].

(f) The first sign looks like *m*. Hence, *ms* "to present" is a possible reading. Although, I can't parallel the use of the word without the feet-determinative, yet the sense is good.

(g) The writing [hieroglyphs] for the name of Osiris is frequently attested on Ramesside monuments of various dates[9]. It seems to be an alternative form of [hieroglyphs], which is used from the late Twelfth Dynasty[10].

(h) For the suggested reading of this feminine personal name, see RANKE who gives a writing of [hieroglyphs][11], recording its occurrence on four monuments from the New Kingdom. The form [hieroglyphs], attested on Cairo TR.23/1/15/6, alternatively shows three grains of sand ([hieroglyphs]) instead of the three strokes ([hieroglyphs]).

II Commentary on the reliefs

(a) It is especially in the Ramesside Period that men are frequently portrayed with shaven heads[12], although earlier examples are also available from the late Eighteenth Dynasty[13].

(b) The bouffant or baggy apron is probably first attested under Amenhotep III, and became widely used during the reign of Seti I[14]. It also shows frequently on monuments dating to the Ramesside Period during which it became larger and was tucked up at the front to reveal the underskirt[15].

(c) The serpent blade is named *wr ḥk3w* 'Great of Power' in the Opening of the Mouth ritual (Episode 27)[16]. Serpent-head blades are found in New Kingdom burials, sometimes inscribed with the title

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[4] H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire the noms géographique contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* VI, Paris 1929, p. 7. Cf. F. GOMAA, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches* I. *Oberägypten und das Fayyum*, *TAVO Beiheft* B/66 [1], Wiesbaden 1986, pp. 274–275.

[5] A. H. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Text, vol. II, Oxford 1947, p. 73[370A].

[6] For Cairo CG 20745 see H. O. LANGE/H. SCHÄFER, *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 20001–20780. Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo* II, Berlin 1908, p. 378.

[7] A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 73[370A]. See also F. GOMAA, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–272.

[8] H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106.

[9] For parallels, see *KRI* I, 308, 309, 342 (all dating from the reign of Seti I); *KRI* III, 58, 80 (both from the reign of Ramesses II); *KRI* IV, 103 (reign of Merenptah); *KRI* IV, 365 (reign of Siptah); and *KRI* V, 391 (reign of Ramesses III).

[10] C. J. C. BENNETT, *Growth of the htp-di-nsw formula in the Middle Kingdom*, in: *JEA* 27, 1941, p. 78.

[11] H. RANKE, *PN* I, p. 245.9.

[12] J. VANDIER, *Manuel d'archaéologie Égyptienne* III. *Le statuaire*, Paris 1958, p. 481(A), note 5. For further representations of bald-headed men on monuments dating from the Ramesside period, see R. METAWI, *The General of the Estate of Amun 3ny and his Notable Family: Cairo Museum Stela (TN 10/6/24/11)*, in: *JARCE* 45, 2009, p. 294 note 7.

[13] J. VANDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 481(A) quoting Berlin 14134; and MMA 26.7.1413 (late Eighteenth Dynasty), and MMA 11.150.21 (Amarna Period).

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 498–499(L). Additional examples appear on stela Cairo CG 34176; 34179; and 34180 (end of the Eighteenth Dynasty): P. LACAU, *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 34001–34064. Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Le Caire 1909; statue BM EA 2320 (late Eighteenth – early Nineteenth Dynasty); stela BM EA 1516 (Nineteenth Dynasty): E. R. RUSSMAN, *Eternal Egypt. Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*, London 2001, Cat. no. 91, 98; and stela Brooklyn Museum 80.113 (Twentieth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses III or later): R. A. FAZZINI, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, Brooklyn 2002, Cat. no. 66.

[15] R. HALL, *Egyptian Textiles*, *Shire Publications*, Aylesbury 1986, pp. 21–22.

[16] E. OTTO, *Das Aegyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, *ÄA* 3, Wiesbaden 1960, pp. 19–20; E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Opening of the Mouth* I, London 1909, p. xv, where reference is made to one example in the British Museum (nr. 15779).

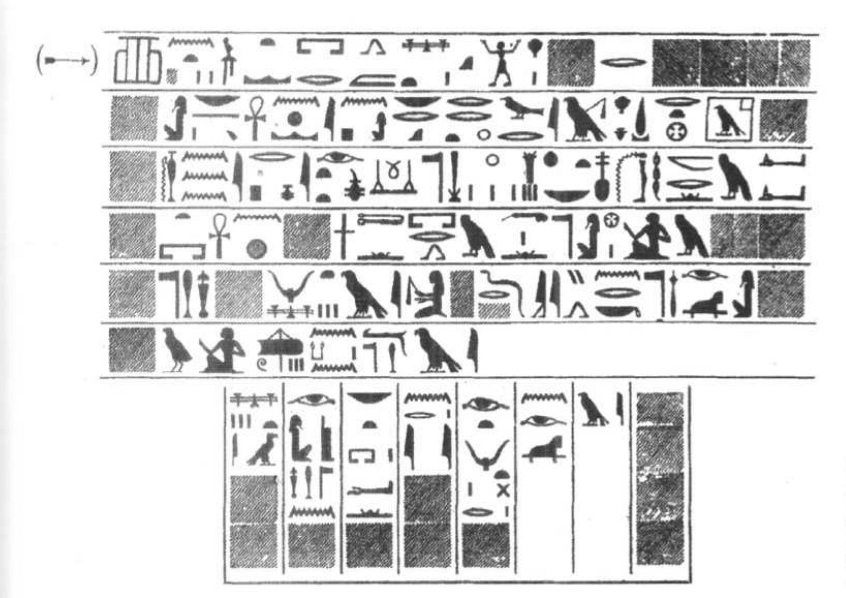


Fig. 3
Drawing of Cairo Museum TR.23/1/15/6 after C. PALANQUE, *Notes de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*, in: *BIFAO* 3, Le Caire 1903, p. 123, (IV-A)

and name of the deceased. They tend to be made of red jasper or carnelian, although earlier examples are also known in flint[17].

Date and Provenance

Nothing is recorded on the original provenance of Cairo TR.23/1/6/15. Internal evidence, however, points at Asyut: The fact that Anubis and Osiris are referred to in the inscriptions as "lord of Ra-qerert", and "lord of Ta-ankh", respectively, and the titles held by Hori that link him with Wepwawet who enjoyed a prominent cult in Asyut.

In his report on the excavations held at Asyut in 1903–1904, PALANQUE gave a brief account of an inscribed fragment naming the overseer of priests and high priest of Wepwawet Hori[18]. According to him, the fragment came from a deposit in the small Middle Kingdom tomb of Hapi-Djefai in Asyut[19]. The fragment apparently belonged to one of the destroyed tombs there. PALANQUE's drawing (Fig. 3) shows an inscription arranged in six horizontal lines, and seven short columns. No translation or commentary was offered, but a brief description of a scene showing a man wearing a leopard skin, censing over an offering table, accompanied by another raising his hand in adoration. Although PALANQUE's description suggests a single fragment, while Cairo TR.23/1/15/6 consists of two adjoining fragments, yet, there is no doubt that PALANQUE's fragment and Cairo TR.23/1/15/6 are in fact one and the same, and it seems likely that Cairo TR.23/1/15/6 was accidently broken prior to its arrival to the Cairo Museum. It is worth mentioning that PALANQUE seems to have miscopied some signs, and a number of signs also happen to be missing from his drawing. Apart from PALANQUE's textual copy, the fragment is not mentioned in any early publications concerning Asyut, and it is very likely that among earlier scholars no one else has ever seen it[20].

On the basis of its stylistic, iconographic, and epigraphic details, Cairo Museum TR.23/1/15/6 is very likely dating from the New Kingdom. The general character of the inscription, the uncommonly attested writing of certain words, the clothing style, and the bald-headed officiating priest, all combine to suggest a date in the Ramesside Period. One cannot, however, exclude the possibility of a little earlier date, i. e. late Eighteenth Dynasty.

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17 C. ANDREWS, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, Austin 1994, pp. 84–85.

18 C. PALANQUE, *Notes de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*, in: *BIFAO* 3, Le Caire 1903, p. 123 (IV-A).

19 This is probably the tomb of the nomarch Hapi-Djefai II (Siut II) since its ground plan is smaller than the tombs of the nomarchs Hapi-Djefai I (Siut I) and Hapi-Djefai III (the Salakhana tomb).

20 Hori's fragment was briefly mentioned only in two later publications, both quoting PALANQUE as their sole reference: PM IV, p. 265, where reference is made to fragments from destroyed tombs, one with the name of Hori, and J. KAHL, *Ancient Asyut: The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research*, Wiesbaden 2007, p. 46, Fig. 26, where Hori is listed among a number of priests and musicians serving at the temple of Wepwawet.

Conclusion

Cairo TR.23/1/15/6 is itself a clear evidence that tombs were cut in the mountain at Asyut during the New Kingdom, though none have been documented yet. It also establishes the date of one of those tombs, along with the name, and titles of its owner.

In light of Cairo TR.23/1/15/6's provenance, Hori's title *ḥm-nṯr tpy Wpw3wt* "High priest or first prophet of Wepwawet" entails a service at a temple for Wepwawet in Asyut, and it may safely be assumed that he headed its priesthood[21]. The mention of a temple for Wepwawet occurs in various texts dating from the First Intermediate to the Ptolemaic Period, and is particularly quoted in New Kingdom graffiti left by visitors in the tomb of Iti-ibi(-iqer), which dates to the end of the First Intermediate Period[22].

At Asyut, evidence of a special cult, a local priesthood, and a temple of Wepwawet, is attested as early as the First Intermediate Period[23]. Though no archaeological remains of the ancient town of Asyut have been found, fragments of a Ramesside temple, presumably that of Wepwawet, were discovered in the 1930s during an unauthorized digging in a Siutian house by its owner[24]. In the Late Period, the temple must have been significantly large in size, and its personnel was numerous, given that there were as many as three hierarchical groups of *ḥm-nṯr*-priests numerically ranked, and a fourth group of humble *ḥm-nṯr*-priests, who were not yet integrated into the hierarchy of the higher ranks[25]. KAHL listed thirty-six priests of the Wepwawet temple at Asyut[26]. Among them, he mentions only four holders of the title *ḥm-nṯr tpy Wpw3wt*[27], three of whom are assigned to the New Kingdom. Those include: Amenhotep (early Nineteenth Dynasty), Wepwawet-mose (Ramesside Period, Cairo JE 68582), and Hori, the owner of Cairo fragment TR.23/1/15/6, whose pontificate can also be assigned to the Ramesside Period. The fourth occurrence of the title names a certain Menkh-ib-Re (Cairo CG 50058), who served in the Late Period under Amasis.

The fact that, at Asyut, the title *ḥm-nṯr tpy Wpw3wt* is never attested before the New Kingdom suggests its being introduced during that period, possibly as a substitute for the *imy-r ḥmw nṯr Wpw3wt* "Overseer of the priests of Wepwawet", which occurs frequently during the First Intermediate Period, and the Middle Kingdom, and seems to have disappeared, at least at Asyut, in the New Kingdom[28]. Worth noting, is that only two Middle Kingdom occurrences of the title *ḥm-nṯr tpy*, associated with the cults of Horus and Horus-Khenty-Khety, are quoted by WARD[29]. QUIRKE admits the reason for this eventual preference for *ḥm-nṯr tpy* in the New Kingdom and later remains unclear[30]. However, he draws attention to the suggestion made by KEMP that the shift towards local high priests in the New Kingdom may reflect developments visible in the archaeology of temple architecture[31].

Near the end of the horizontally arranged lines of text, Hori is assigned a second title, that is *imy-r ḥmw-nṯr* "Overseer of the priests", without specifying a certain deity or temple. Here, it is very likely that as the high priest of Wepwawet, the chief deity of Asyut, Hori supervised the priests serving the cults of other local deities. This assumption is supported by BROVARSKI's observation that the use of the title *imy-r ḥmw-nṯr*, without adding the name of a deity was common in provinces during the Old Kingdom, and probably indicated supervision of several cults at the same time[32]. A similar remark was made by GARDINER, that during the Middle Kingdom every provincial town had an "Overseer of Prophets" at the head of its priesthood[33]. Additional evidence that the title *imy-r ḥmw-nṯr* was held by high priests of local gods in the New Kingdom is its attestation for the high priest of Onuris An-her-mose in

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[21] Wepwawet is identified as the lord of Asyut since at least the First Intermediate Period. F. L. GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London 1898, Siût tomb III, [1-2, 57-58]; tomb IV [21, 45, 61].

[22] J. KAHL, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–45.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 41, who quotes as reference GRIFFITH, *Siût*, tomb V, [14], tomb IV, [21–22].

[24] J. KAHL, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–48, Fig. 26.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–48, Fig. 26.

[28] Six different occurrences of *imy-r ḥmw-nṯr Wpw3wt* "Overseer of the priests of Wepwawet" during the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom have been recorded by KAHL, in addition to three "true overseer of the priests of Wepwawet". *Ibid.*, pp. 46–48, Fig. 26.

[29] Both attested on Cairo CG 704 (W. A. WARD, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut 1982, p. 112 (936), (937).

[30] ST. QUIRKE, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850–1700 BC, Egyptology* I, London 2004, p. 129.

[31] *Ibid.* See also S. SAUNERON, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, New York 2000, pp. 57–58.

[32] E. BROVARSKI, *Tempelpersonal. I. AR*, in: *LÄ* VI, col. 387.

[33] A. H. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Text, vol. I, Oxford 1947, p. 30[100]. Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *Le personnel du dieu Min*, Le Caire 1931, pp. 21–23.

his tomb at Nagaa-el-Mesheikh, which dates to the Ramesside Period[34].

Though, at Asyut, Hori figures as the only known holder of the title *imy-r ḥmw-nṯr* in the New Kingdom[35], the title is attested for a Middle Kingdom monarch of Asyut called Djefai-Hapi II[36] the owner of tomb Siut II, which is assigned to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty[37]. QUIRKE explains that in the Middle Kingdom *imy-r ḥmw nṯr* was a position generally held by mayors of towns with more than one prominent temple[38]. According to SHAFER[39] civil administration and temple remained closely linked in the early New Kingdom through the joint office of "Mayor and Overseer of priests". Such link probably ended during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmoses III, when the high priest or overseer of priests came to be a prince, official or priest, who was assigned the office as a royal favor and bore the title *ḥm-nṯr tpy* "High priest" or "First prophet of god". After that, the office became regularly attained through divine oracles or family inheritance.

The scene preserved on Cairo TR.23/1/15/6 is undoubtedly of mortuary nature. It is connected with the Opening of the Mouth ritual, and the performer of the ritual is a priest clad in a leopard-skin garment, who is probably followed by the deceased's son. The instrument used by the ritual priest is the serpent-headed blade called *wr ḥkꜣw*. The use of this instrument is associated with episode 27 of the ritual, which forms one of the focal rites of the Opening the Mouth[40], and involves touching the statue or the mummy with special instruments[41].

During the Opening the Mouth ritual, the mummy or statue is always shown standing upright, usually crowned with a cone of incense and a lotus flower. Also, as described in episode 1 of the ritual, the mummy (or statue) had to be put on a mound of clean sand, probably to isolate it from the impure surroundings, and must be oriented so that the face could look southwards[42]. The only appropriate position under these conditions was to portray the ritual on the north wall so that the mummy or statue would face south when raised in front of this wall. This is reinforced by the usual depictions of the ritual on the north wall of tombs[43]. It seems, therefore, probable that Cairo TR.23/1/15/6 once formed part of the northern side of a larger object, possibly a sarcophagus, as mentioned in the Cairo Museum records. However, no example within the corpus of New Kingdom private stone sarcophagi is known to provide a text or a scene similar to those on Cairo TR.23/1/15/6[44]. Likewise, scenes depicting the Opening of the Mouth ritual are not attested on private sarcophagi dating from the New Kingdom. The offering formula is also very rare, and is seldom used as a substitute for the speech of Geb or Nut in the horizontal inscriptions circulating the upper part of a sarcophagus' lid or base[45], and if attested, it never extends for more than one line, as is the case here. Hori's fragmentary inscription (Cairo TR.23/1/15/6), therefore, most likely formed

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[34] A. R. AL-AYEDI, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, Ismailia 2006, p. 81, giving as reference: PM V, p. 28; A. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*, Paris 1892, pl. 78; H. KEES, *Die Laufbahn des Hohenpriesters Onhurmes von Thinis*, in: *ZÄS* 73, 1937, pp. 77–90; *KRI* IV, pp. 141–144.

[35] Outside Asyut, the title is cited by AL-AYEDI in his index of New Kingdom titles, as occurring on monuments belonging to six different officials. A. R. AL-AYEDI, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[36] M. BECKER, *The Reconstruction of Tomb Siut II from the Middle Kingdom*, in: J. KAHL ET AL. (eds.), *Seven Seasons at Asyut: First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th–11th of October, 2009*, Wiesbaden 2012, p. 75.

[37] In his tomb inscriptions, the mayor Djefai-hapi II is also identified as *imy-r ḥmw nṯr n wn mꜣʿ n Wpwꜣwt nb Zꜣwt* "true overseer of the priests of Wepwawet lord of Siut", M. BECKER, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[38] ST. QUIRKE, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[39] B. E. SHAFER, *Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview*, in: B. E. SHAFER (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, New York 1997, p. 13.

[40] The full ritual of Opening the mouth comprised 75 episodes. It formed one of the most important parts, if not the most important, of the funerary rites. For detailed studies of the ritual see: E. OTTO, *Das Aegyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, *ÄA* 3, Wiesbaden 1960; E. SCHIAPARELLI, *Il libro dei funeral*, Turin 1881–1890; and E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Opening of the Mouth* I–II, London 1909.

[41] For the names of these implements and their associated episodes see E. OTTO, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19, 19–20, 22, 63–66, 91–93, 93–95, 97–98, 99 for episodes 26, 46, 32, 14, 33, 39, and 37 respectively. See also A. R. SCHULMAN, *The Iconographic Theme: "Opening of the Mouth" on Stelae*, in: *JARCE* 21, 1984, p. 174, who cites examples of the occurrences of these implements on stelae.

[42] M. J. RAVEN, *The Orientation of the Human Body*, in: *JEA* 91, 2005, p. 50, who cites as reference E. OTTO, *op. cit.*, 1.2, II.34–37; J. C. GOYON, *Chirurgie religieuse ou thanatopraxie? Donnees nouvelles sur la momification en Egypte et reflections qu'elles impliquent*, in: *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia, Atti* I, Turin 1992, p. 218.

[43] M. J. RAVEN, in: *JEA* 91, p. 50.

[44] For the decoration and texts of the New Kingdom private sarcophagi see I. BÖHME, *Die privaten Sarkophage des Neuen Reiches – Ein Vorbericht*, in: G. NEUNERT/K. GABLER/A. VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual. Beiträge des zweiten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (MAJA 2), 2.12. bis 4.12. 2011*, *GOF* IV *Ägypten* 54, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 53–56.

[45] For examples of the speeches of Geb and Nut in the long horizontal inscriptions running along the upper part of the four exterior sides of a sarcophagus' lid or base see A. HAMADA, *A Sarcophagus from Mit-Rahina*, in: *ASAE* 35, 1935, p. 125; W. C. HAYES, *The Sarcophagus of Sennemut*, in: *JEA* 36, 1950, Pls. V, VI (36); and A. VARILLE, *Les trois sarcophages du fils royal Merimes*, in: *ASAE* 45, 1947, pp. 8–9.

part of a tomb wall relief, or a stela, an assumption that is supported by the rough condition of its back.

Abstract

The article presents two limestone fragments in the basement of the Cairo Museum (TR.23/1/15/6). Much of the significance of the two fragments lies in the fact that they are the sole evidence for their notable owner, Hori, who served as a high priest of Wepwawet, probably in the Ramesside Period. Placing the description of these fragments on record is also advantageous as it may lead to the identification of further pieces from which a full and reliable reconstruction of Hori's monument could be attempted. The paper deals with the stylistic, iconographic and paleographic details of the two fragments, along with a commentary on their provenance and the titles held by their owner.

Ptolemaic and Roman Burials from Theban Tomb -400-

By GÁBOR SCHREIBER, ZSOLT VASÁROS and ADRIENN ALMÁSY

1. Introduction

The south slope of the el-Khokha hillock, a central part of the Theban necropolis distinguished by the presence of the oldest rock-cut tombs at Thebes and an extensive network of private New Kingdom mortuary monuments, kept its importance as a prestigious burial ground until the last centuries of paganism. The frequency and quantity of objects associated with Ptolemaic and Roman burials that have been excavated in this area compare in significance only to those discovered in the Asasif, where tombs were similarly reused and transformed to house multiple burials from the Late Dynastic Period on. The presence of Graeco-Roman material proved in fact to be symptomatic of nearly all the Khokha tombs that have already been examined archaeologically. These 'late' burials appear to cluster around Theban Tomb 32, the mortuary monument of Djehutymes constructed in the reign of Ramesses II. Shortly after the ascension of Ptolemy I to the throne, TT 32 came into the property of the Nesmin family, who interred its dead in secondarily cut side chambers opening from the burial shaft of Djehutymes for at least three generations, until the reign of Ptolemy III or IV[1]. Together with a few other contemporary burial assemblages now in museum collections, the objects found associated with these interments are of key importance to understanding what an elite burial looked like in this period. Later, in the late 3rd – early 2nd century BC, the transverse hall of TT 32 was turned into a group burial place with rather poor quality burials placed in individual graves[2]. About the same time, in the reign of Ptolemy IV at the latest, Tomb B, a large hypogeum situated in the area of the first two forecourts of TT 32 and dating to the late Third Intermediate Period, was also reused[3]. The burials found there were provided with multiple-piece cartonnages and two of them were also given hypocephali. Burials similar in style and date have recently been discovered in the Ramesside tomb TT -43-, where multiple-piece cartonnage trappings and hypocephali confirm the reuse of the tomb interior during the middle Ptolemaic Period[4]. Based on the presence of elements from contemporary burial equipment, the neighbouring tombs TT 183 (Nebsumenu, 19th Dynasty)[5] and TT -61- (Amenhotep, 20th Dynasty)[6] also accommodated Ptolemaic interments. Although material postdating the 2nd century BC is scarce on el-Khokha, the middle Ptolemaic Period was, to be sure, not the last important episode in the history of the site. After the late Ptolemaic – early Imperial Period, still difficult to specify at Thebes in terms of funerary art, TT 32 was reused for the last time in antiquity during the late 1st – early 2nd century AD. Based on circumstantial evidence and a fragmentary shroud sharing the characteristics of the funerary coverings of the Soter family burials, LÁSZLÓ KÁKOSY argued that TT 32 was the reused tomb from where the famous Theban Imperial funerary artefacts

[1] KÁKOSY/SCHREIBER 2003, pp. 206–207; SCHREIBER 2011, pp. 109–110.
[2] KÁKOSY/GAÁL 1985, pp. 16–19; KÁKOSY/SCHREIBER 2003, pp. 207–208.
[3] SCHREIBER/VASÁROS 2005, pp. 24–25; SCHREIBER 2011, p. 127.
[4] FÁBIÁN 2009, pp. 25–26.
[5] SEYFRIED 2002, pp. 420–421.
[6] Excavated by the Hungarian Mission. Personal observation.

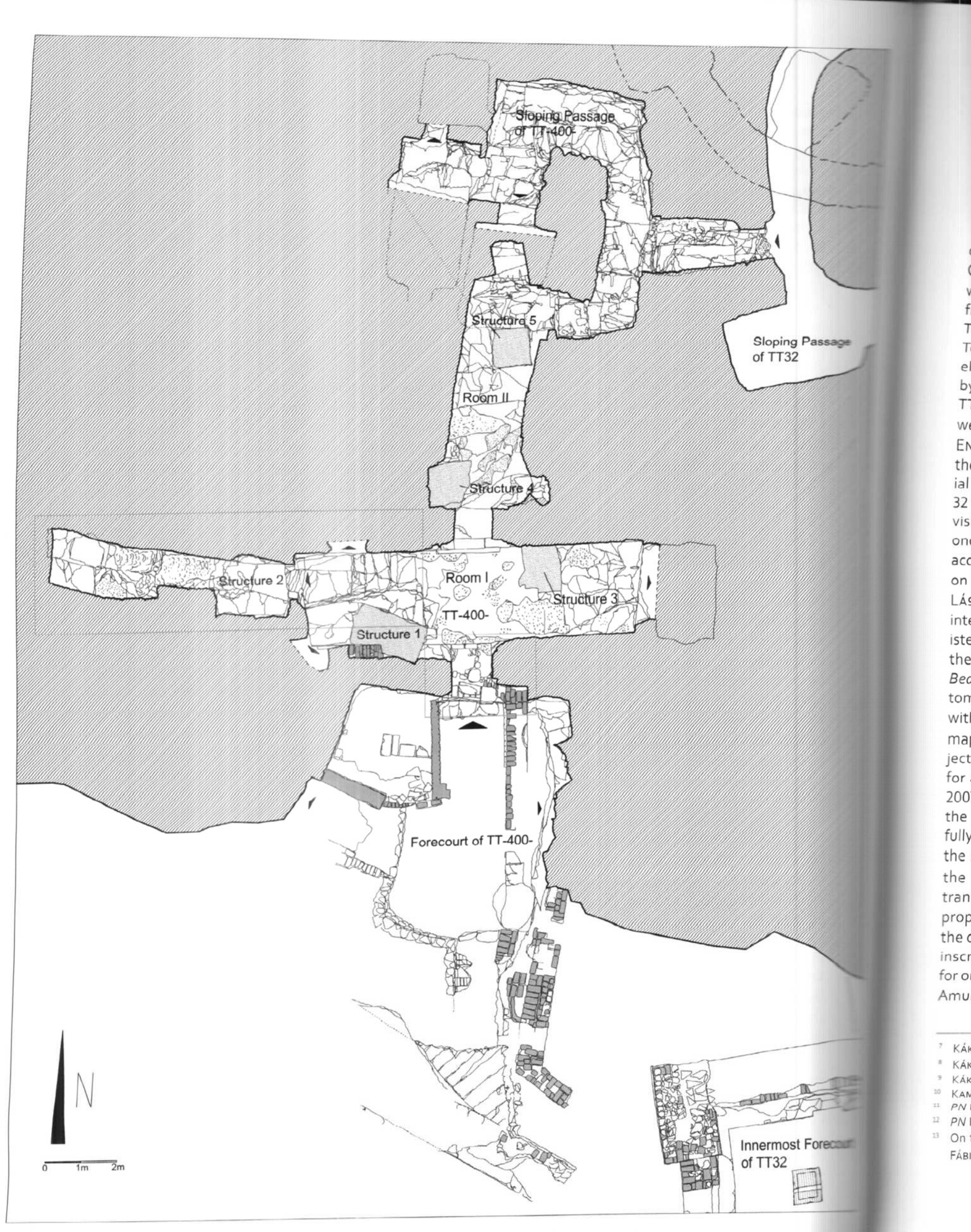


Fig. 1 Ground plan of Theban Tomb -400- (2012) (Drawing by ZSOLT VASÁROS)

belonging to this family were transported to European museums in the 1820s[7]. Be that as it may, the excavations in TT 32 yielded fragments from three shrouds stylistically belonging with the Soternalia, a fact confirming that TT 32 served as a family burial place for a considerable time in the Antonine era.

This corpus, central for developing a better understanding of the Theban burial system during the Graeco-Roman period, can now be complemented with a significant collection of contemporary finds from the on-going Hungarian excavations in Theban Tomb -400-. Wedged between TT 32 and 182, Theban Tomb -400- is situated in the first necropolis street of el-Khokha (Fig. 1). The tomb was discovered in 1984 by the Hungarian Archaeological Mission working at TT 32. Although the façade and entrance of TT -400- were blanketed in a high heap of debris at that time, ENDRE EGYED, then surveyor of the mission, reached the inner rooms of TT -400- through a secondary burial chamber which connects the sloping passage of TT 32 with the sloping passage of TT -400-. After this first visit to TT -400- the crack in the back wall of the secondary chamber in question was walled up, blocking access from TT 32. Subsequently, a sketch map based on the observations made in 1984 was published by LÁSZLÓ KÁKOSY showing both TT 32 and -400-[8]. The international scholarly community recognised the existence of the tomb after the map was republished in the proceedings of the conference *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*[9]. In 1996 the so far unnumbered tomb was listed by FRIEDERIKE KAMPP as TT -400- with a short note pertaining to the tomb based on the map published by KÁKOSY[10]. The South Khokha Project of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission applied for and gained a concession to excavate TT -400- in 2007. Over the course of six campaigns (2007–2012) the forecourt and the cult chapels of TT -400- were fully cleared but the burial chamber(s) opening from the sloping passage of the tomb as well as some of the intrusive burial structures identified in the transverse and axial halls of TT -400- still await proper excavation. Although well over two-thirds of the original murals have been destroyed, the extant inscriptions indicate that the tomb was constructed for one Khamin (*Ḫ*ʿ*-mnw*)[11], Scribe of the treasury of Amun (*sš pr-ḥd n Jmn*), and his wife Raia (*R*ʿ*jj*)[12]. The decoration of the tomb has much in common with the so-called 'Khokha Tomb Group'[13], suggesting a dating to the 19th Dynasty. The burial chamber of the original owners has not yet been excavated, but it is already fairly secure to suggest that Khamin's tomb was turned into a multiple burial place shortly after the original interments. Such a conclusion is borne out by the presence of fragments from other Ramesside burial equipment, including that of one Amenmesse (*Jmn-ms*), Chief guardian of the treasury of Amun (*ḥry s3wty pr-ḥḏ n Jmn*), whose name figures on several shabtis[14] and a set of shabti jars. Six years of fieldwork also led to the recognition that TT -400- forms part of an intricate and interconnected system of smaller New Kingdom tombs and that TT -400- is in direct physical contact not only with TT 32 but with six other, thus far unknown, New Kingdom mortuary monuments. These tombs as yet remain anonymous, with the exception of one unnumbered tomb, the burial chamber of which is connected with the lower section of the sloping passage of TT -400-. Judging from fragments of canopic jars and a canopic chest, this tomb was made for one Paser (*P3-sr*).

After the Ramesside multiple burials TT -400- did not long remain out of use. Fragments of yellow-background coffins decorated in polychrome indicate that new owners took possession of the tomb in the early Third Intermediate Period. The next phase of occupation is datable to the later Kushite/Saite Period. Fragments from at least two coffins with inscriptions set against alternating bright backgrounds can be securely associated with this phase. The pennant writing of the name Osiris in these inscriptions, moreover, suggests a dating after 720 BC, when this orthography gained acceptance. The contemporaneous ushebtis excavated to date belong to five sets, signifying a minimal number of burials for this phase. All five sets consist of small-sized workman figurines made of Nile silt, of which two are covered in coloured wash in imitation of faience prototypes. The pottery corpus contains well-known types of ASTON's Phase III[15], including pots with spiral white decoration and dishes with ledged bases. Other pottery vessels, such as an East Greek amphora and an Attic 'brush-banded' amphora[16], both reused for storing leftover mummification material, also suggest that the occupation extended

7 KÁKOSY 1995a.
8 KÁKOSY 1994, p. 22.
9 KÁKOSY 1995b, p. 50.
10 KAMPP 1996, p. 769. Cf. *ibid*. p. 223, Abb. 126.
11 *PN* I, 264.8.
12 *PN* I, 220.8.
13 On the stylistic characteristics of the Khokha Tomb Group, see FÁBIÁN 2008 and *Hungarian Excavations*, pp. 67–68.
14 Another figurine from the same shabti gang is kept in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam (No. 9455): VAN HAARLEM 1990, pp. 39–40.
15 Cf. ASTON 1996, pp. 72–77.
16 On Archaic Greek transport amphorae found in Theban contexts, see recently MARANGOU 2012. On the finds from el-Khokha, see SCHREIBER 2014, p. 245, Figs. 11-5ab-b.

well into the Saite Period. There can be little doubt that these late 25th/26th Dynasty objects belong with the burials originally deposed in two as yet unexcavated intrusive shaft tombs with square apertures (Structures 3 and 5) opening in the interior of TT -400-.

2. The middle Ptolemaic burials

The overwhelming portion of the Ptolemaic finds thus far uncovered was retrieved from the mixed fill of stone chips, dust, and sand accumulated in the transverse hall. It is as yet unclear whether these objects were taken up from the lower rooms of TT -400- by looters or they were indeed deposited in the transverse hall. What makes the picture more confusing is the presence in this first room of TT -400- of three other hewn structures originally not forming part of the Ramesside tomb (cf. Fig. 1). Predating Khamin's monument, Structure 1 is an 18th Dynasty tomb shaft which cuts through the western aisle of the transverse hall and reaches a depth of –9.5 m. The rectangular opening of the shaft, belonging to an unexcavated tomb in the second necropolis street of el-Khokha, is situated to the northwest of the entrance to TT -400-, above the façade. As is indicated by courses of Ramesside mudbricks leaning against a ledge cut into the southern sidewall of the shaft, the builders of Khamin's monument made an effort to conceal this shaft by constructing a half-vault to fill the gap in the ceiling. Although the lower section of the shaft had been, to be sure, backfilled to the floor level of the transverse hall by that time, this fill was repeatedly mixed and disturbed in later antiquity, as is demonstrated by the presence of much younger Ptolemaic and Roman objects found therein. Out of the two other intrusive constructions opening from the transverse hall, Structure 2 is a corridor tomb added to the tomb system in the Imperial Period, while Structure 3, as yet unexcavated, appears to be an earlier shaft tomb with a square aperture. Since, unlike in neighbouring TT 32, no traces of mudbrick constructions in the form of individual graves with a vaulted or gabled roof were found in the transverse hall, one is left with the suggestion that the Ptolemaic finds retrieved in the fill of Room I had either belonged to burials in the lower rooms of the tomb or that they originate from multiple burials in coffins simply piled up and placed on the floor of the transverse hall. The single built construction that can so far be ascribed to this phase of occupation is a new entrance to the cult chapel (Figs. 2, 3a–b). Since the original doorway was apparently in a much destroyed and deteriorated state by that time, it was reinforced on both sides and a new, smaller doorway was constructed with doorjambs of mudbrick. Given the fact that the Ptolemaic floor level of the forecourt was some 50 cm higher than the New Kingdom floor, a large rectangular stone slab laid on two courses of bricks was built in the doorway as a new threshold. On the inner side of this threshold another large piece of stone, laid directly over the New Kingdom floor and embedded in a mudbrick frame, was used as a step, allowing descent into the inner half of the New Kingdom entrance, which was covered with a single course of mudbricks reinforced with mortar. It is to be noted that a similar Ptolemaic doorway was also identified in TT 32[17].

The physical anthropological examination of human remains from the transverse hall led to the identification of 49 fragmentary mummies, of which 24 belong to the *adultus*, 2 to the *juvenilis*, and 23 to the *infans* age groups[18]. About 90 % of the mummies uncovered showed traces of a mummification technique carried out with black resinous substances, which is characteristic of the Late Dynastic – Ptolemaic Periods[19]. More often than not the internal organs were replaced in the body cavities after careful bandaging, while the legs and arms were sometimes tied to and reinforced by palm branches, clearly with the aim of giving additional support and a more lifelike appearance to the mummies. It is noteworthy that in the case of several female and child mummies a rectangular plastron, constructed of several sheets of adhering linen and sometimes filled with sawdust, was placed over the chest and abdomen. In two cases high-quality red coloured linen was used for completing the bandaging, which is probably no other than the red linen of Sais, an element of mummy cloth believed to bestow the protection for the transfigured dead that is prescribed in the Ritual of Embalming[20]. The technique of bandaging was identical in both cases; the legs were not bandaged separately. Instead, both legs were first tied together with coarse-quality

[17] On the reuse of earlier architectural space in Ptolemaic Theban burials, see Schreiber 2011, pp. 111–114.

[18] This section on the anthropological finds is based on the observations kindly communicated by Erzsébet Fóthi (Hungarian Natural History Museum), who studied the material in 2010.

[19] For comparable burials from neighbouring TT 32, see Fóthi/Bernert 2010; for an overview of 'black mummies' (Type 3 human burials) from TT 32, see Schreiber 2010, pp. 91–92.

[20] Sauneron 1952, 9,1–2; Govon 1972, p. 51.

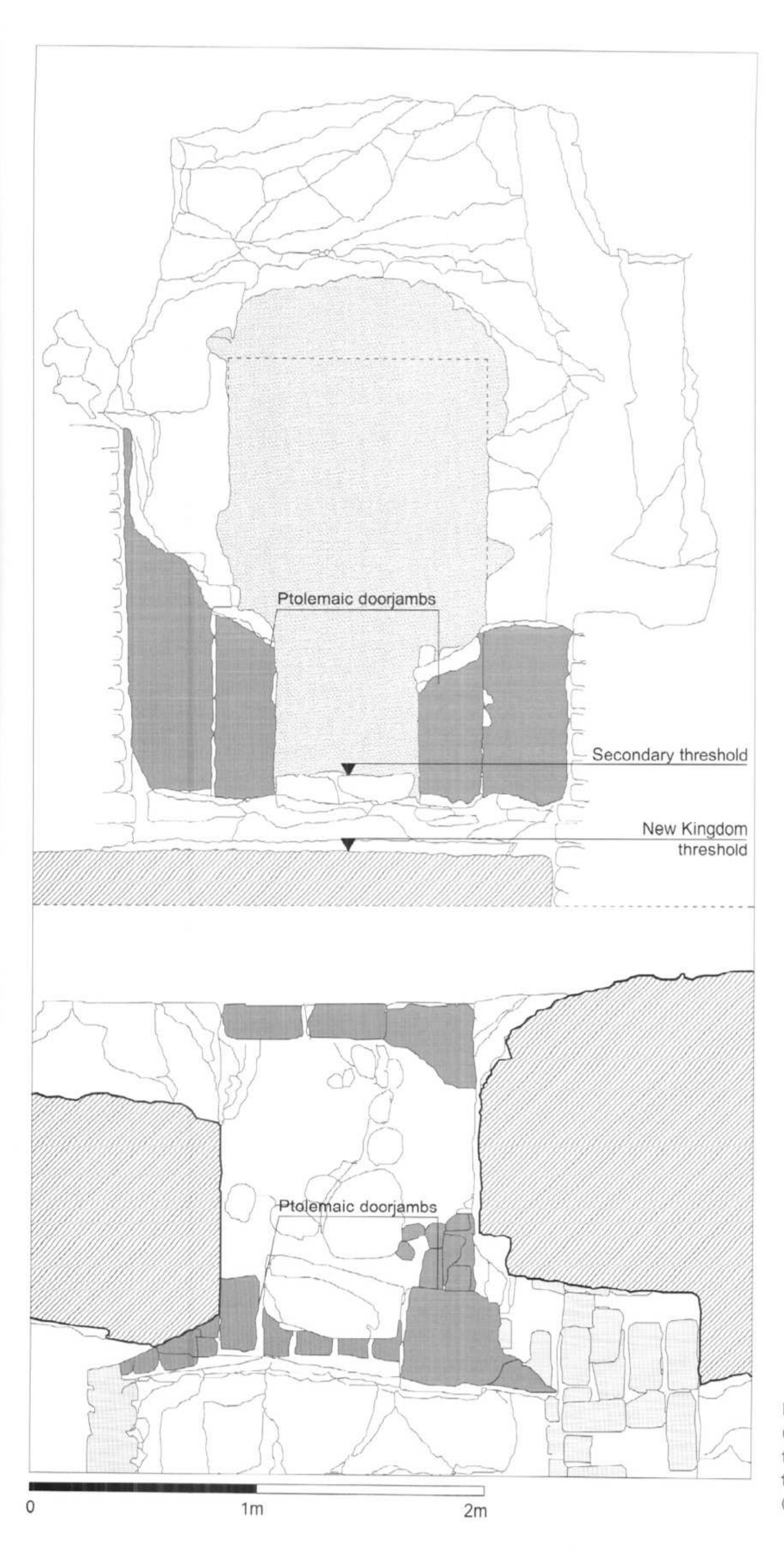


Fig. 2
Ground plan and elevation of the entrance of TT -400- with the Ptolemaic alterations (Drawing by ZSOLT VASÁROS)



Fig. 3a Entrance of TT -400- (Photo by László Mátyus)



Fig. 3b Entrance of TT -400- from the transverse hall (Photo by László Mátyus)

plain linen, then by good-quality white linen, then by the piece of red textile, which was held in position and bound by linen strips. Since the same type of textile was used as the material of an Osiris shroud of the Imperial Period, we have fairly good reason to believe that the mummies in question date to the Roman phase of occupation. However, judging from the fact that Ptolemaic objects predominate in number in the archaeological material retrieved in the transverse hall, the majority of the 'late' mummies must be Ptolemaic in date.

The grave goods found in the transverse hall cannot, unfortunately, be associated with particular mummies, since, as is typical of the Theban necropolis in general, the burials were heavily vandalized and looted and objects from the equipment scattered through the entire tomb complex. A more precise dating of the Ptolemaic burials to the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC is thus based on the style-critical assessment of the objects, especially the cartonnages and the pottery. With the exception of a highly fragmentary one-piece cartonnage excavated in the forecourt, all the contemporary cartonnages represent the multiple-piece type. Such a set is usually composed of a mask (Fig. 4a), a *wsḫ-n-bjk*-collar (Fig. 4b–c), an apron (Figs. 4d–e, 5a–d), and a footcase (Fig. 5e–g)[21]. Individual strips tied around the arms and ankles (Fig. 6a–b) as well as smaller plaques or a pectoral with the representation of a winged scarab (Fig. 6c) or Nut were sometimes also used. The decoration is usually painted on in polychrome over light, occasionally alternating, background colours. The light-on-dark style, characteristic of one-piece cartonnages, is relatively rare on the multiple-piece trappings (Fig. 5a–d). The main text, almost exclusively a Nut formula or an offering formula, is found on the apron, arranged in a central column bisecting the symmetrically rendered figural panels on the

21 On Ptolemaic multiple-piece cartonnages, see Schreiber 2006, pp. 237–239.



Fig. 4 Ptolemaic cartonnages from TT -400- (Photos by LÁSZLÓ MÁTYUS)



Fig. 5 Ptolemaic cartonnages from TT -400- (Photos by LÁSZLÓ MÁTYUS)



Fig. 6 Ptolemaic cartonnages (a–c) and coffin fragment (d) from TT -400- (Photos by László Mátyus)

sides with the image of the Sons of Horus, Isis, Nephthys, and Osiris. Besides this, texts other than captions of the images are infrequent, which adds extra significance to the short extract from Book of the Dead chapter 19 legible on one of the collars with a gilded falcon-head (Fig. 4b) and the short formula for well-being in the hereafter figuring on a pectoral (Fig. 6c). Other cartonnage ornaments excavated in the transverse hall are less ambitious, with hastily articulated details and illegible label texts (Fig. 5a–d). It must also be noted that some of the trappings, such as a footcase with a chequered pattern on the under-

side, were made of reused textile, in this case embroidered linen probably originating from a tunic (Fig. 5f–g). Based on the extant fragments it seems that at least five burials were equipped with this kind of multiple-piece cartonnage trappings. As has been shown elsewhere, the real vogue for this type of mummy cover only came in the later 3rd century BC and became generally accepted at Thebes in the 2nd century BC[22]. Such a chronology seems to be confirmed by the associated coffin fragments, which exhibit a decoration painted on in bichrome (white-red) over a black background (Fig. 6d). This style, especially the combination of this type of coffins with cartonnage trappings in one coffin ensemble, speaks again for a dating to the middle Ptolemaic Period[23].

Since the use of textile amulets (Fig. 7a) and linen strips inscribed with a formula for well-being in the hereafter or short texts deriving from the Book of the Dead corpus (Fig. 7b–c) is typical at Thebes for the early Ptolemaic Period,[24] the appearance of such objects in the same context of TT -400- is probably indicative of the fact that the same funerary custom continued, at least for a while, into the middle Ptolemaic Period. The inscribed strips, written in hieroglyphic, belonged to two sets judging from the characteristics of the handwriting. In addition to this, a third contemporary mummy must have been equipped with a Book of the Dead manuscript on papyrus tied around the body and glued to the bandaging[25]. This custom has so far been held to be an Akhmimi speciality, but finds from the middle Ptolemaic contexts of nearby Tomb B[26] and the same type of fragment from TT -400- positively verify the existence of this kind of odd 'decoration' of contemporary mummies at Thebes. Other novelties of this period that appear in a number of Theban burials were to provide the dead with pieces of clothing[27] and to fasten the bandaging or, more precisely, the linen strips tied around the bandaging, with a seal[28]. The former custom is attested in the material from TT -400- by a linen mummy cap (Fig. 7d) and the latter by a stamp bearing multiple figural seal impressions holding together linen strips (Fig. 8a).

Due to the fact that former archaeological research paid little attention to the description of this kind of 'late' and typically highly fragmentary material, a more precise characterization of the contemporary burial equipment is still to be worked out. Based on the available evidence, one nevertheless gets the impression that compared to early Ptolemaic elite burials in which a relatively high degree of standardization had been achieved, the middle Ptolemaic material is more heterogeneous, not only in terms of quality and style but in terms of the composition of the burial ensemble. Although it seems that the combination of multiple-piece cartonnage ornaments and a wooden coffin with the decoration set against a black background became the norm at this time, the cartonnage covers were sometimes apparently omitted and replaced by a bead-netting shroud with suspended images of protective deities. Among the amulets dating to the Ptolemaic Period, two fragmentary Sons of Horus belonging to one set are particularly interesting on account of their articulation and robust loop suspensions, which suggest they were probably to be hung on a torque or wire around the neck of a mummy (Fig. 8b–c).

Objects given to the deceased other than those attached to the mummy and enclosed in the coffin seem to have been infrequent in this period. In this category it is worth noting wooden attachments probably tenoned to tall wooden boxes of ASTON's Type C (Fig. 8d), a handsome stone bowl with a rosette in the tondo (Fig. 8e)[29], and ceramic vessels. Besides the generic footed cups (Fig. 8f), pots bearing decoration in the so-called 'Lotus flower and crosslined-band style' proved to be symptomatic in these contexts. So far fragments from large piriform containers (*zirs*) (Fig. 7e), bottles with linear decoration (Fig. 8g), a linear bag-shaped jar (Fig. 8h), and squat jars ornamented with a scroll have been identified (Fig. 3i)[30]. This corpus is complemented by some carinated bowls (Fig. 3j) and a few undecorated closed shapes which, together with a contemporary offering table found near the entrance (Fig. 7f), probably represent the remnants of the funerary cult of those buried in TT -400- during the middle Ptolemaic Period.

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[22] *Ibid.* Cf. *Hungarian Excavations*, p. 126.

[23] Cf. SCHREIBER 2011, p. 127.

[24] On linen amulets, see KOCKELMANN 2003; CURTIS/KOCKELMANN/MUNRO 2005; KOCKELMANN 2008, pp. 309–346; SCHREIBER 2007, pp. 337–340. On inscribed linen strips, see DE CALUWE 1991, pp. xv–xx; KOCKELMANN 2007; 2008.

[25] For a photo of this object, see SCHREIBER 2011, Fig. 36.

[26] ILLÉS 2006. Cf. MUNRO 2010, p. 61.

[27] Cf. DUNAND/LICHTENBERG 2006, pp. 78–79.

[28] SCHREIBER 2007, pp. 343–345.

[29] For a short discussion of this object, see SCHREIBER 2011, p. 129, note 170.

[30] For parallels, see SCHREIBER 2003, Nos. 42–57, 83–85, 108–121, 208–267.


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Fig. 7 Ptolemaic linen amulet (a), inscribed linen strips (b–c), linen cap (d), pottery (e), and offering table (f) from TT -400- (Photos by LÁSZLÓ MÁTYUS)

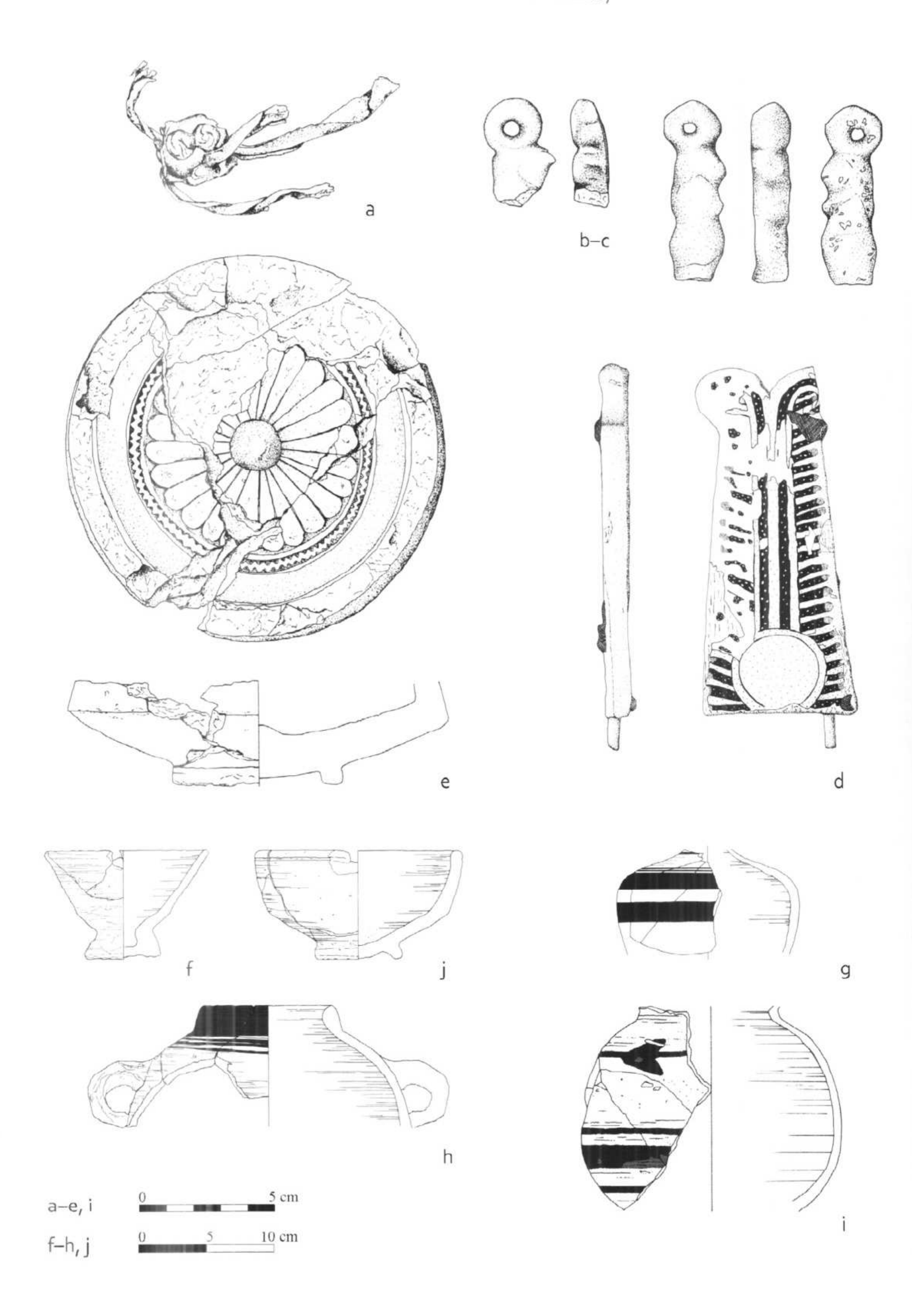


Fig. 8 Ptolemaic objects and pottery from TT -400- (scale: a–e, i = 1:2, f–h, j = 1:4)
(Drawings by BALÁZS TIHANYI and ESZTER TÓTH)

3. Burials of the early Imperial Period

Based on archaeological, numismatic, and textual evidence, TT -400- was reused for intrusive burials during the Imperial Period, between the mid-1st and mid-2nd centuries AD. The chronological frontiers of this phase of occupation are defined primarily by linen strips inscribed in demotic and dated on palaeographical grounds to between the middle of the 1st century AD and the later 2nd century AD. However, given the fact that the dates provided for the demotic inscriptions may shift slightly on the time scale, the Roman phase of TT -400- is not necessarily that long but may be shortened to the period between the later 1st century AD and the mid-2nd century AD. Such a chronological scenario also seems to be supported by the fact that most of the demotic inscriptions are clearly of a 2nd century AD date, and, based on comparanda from Thebes, the same is true of the Roman textiles and pottery found in TT -400-. A chronological anchor to the 2nd century AD is also provided by a coin from the same context (Fig. 9b), now unfortunately in a much weatherworn state, with the portrait of an emperor on the obverse and a standing draped figure on the reverse, which originates from an Alexandrian mint of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161), or, less likely, of Hadrian (AD 117–138)[31]. In this period, most plausibly in the later 1st century AD, a small hypogeum-type tomb with a descending staircase was cut into the bedrock, with an opening in the western aisle of the transverse hall (Structure 2) (Fig. 10). The steps leading to the entrance of Structure 2 were cut to the floor of the transverse hall of TT -400- (Fig. 11a). Out of the seven original steps only six are extant today.

The staircase, 180 cm in length and 90 to 120 cm in width, leads to an inwardly-sloping foreground (120 × 150 cm) in front of the door of Structure 2 that is 4 Roman feet in width and 5.5 Roman feet in height. The door was cut into the west wall of the transverse hall in a way that its cavetto is placed directly below the dado of the New Kingdom murals. On the extant parts of the doorjambs and cavetto no traces of painted decoration are visible. The inner rooms of Structure 2 consist of an antechamber (Chamber 1), a burial chamber with a floor niche (Chamber 2), and a connecting passage or corridor. Chamber 1, 150 cm in width and 150–180 cm in height, has an almost rectangular ground plan that was not completely realized due to some irregularities in cutting and chiselling the face of the southern wall. A remarkable feature of this chamber is the presence of a bench-like construction, hewn out of the bedrock, along the southern long side of the antechamber, which actually turns the middle aisle into a descending passage leading, through the connecting passage, to Chamber 2. The wall faces of the corridor (87–90 cm wide and 117–120 cm high) are well preserved and the same holds true for the burial chamber, which measures 125–150 cm in width, 300 cm in length and 120–170 cm in height (Fig. 11b). The ground plan shows a curved form because of the geological nature of the bedrock. Occupying the entire north-western quarter of the chamber is an almost rectangular floor niche, quite evidently intended for a single burial, which extends 15 cm further into the back wall under the floor level. This unusual feature seems to have been necessitated by the size of the coffin or burial it was destined to shelter. On the floor of this niche is a crack in the rock through which Structure 2 is connected to the burial chamber of an as yet unknown 18th Dynasty tomb. A notable feature of Structure 2 is that its architectural plan testifies to the application of the Roman foot as a unit of length[32]. Other length units[33] have also been tested to define the geometrical coherence of the building, but in the case of Structure 2 only the Roman foot yields consistent results. In contrast to the New Kingdom structure of Theban Tomb -400-, whose plan is based on the length unit of the Egyptian royal cubit (523 mm), the architect of Structure 2 employed a different modular system. Based on the measurements taken in Structure 2, it is fairly secure to state that this unit of length, introduced in Egypt no earlier than the Imperial Period, defines the size of the wall faces, interior heights, and all important construction lines, including those of the stairs, doors, the bench, and the floor niche (Figs. 12–16, Tab. 1). The coherent application of this modular system is well illustrated by the nicely carved entrance door of Structure 2, whose width (between the doorjambs) is exactly four modules and total height is 5.5 modules expressed in the Roman foot. The height of the cavetto cornice is a half module, meaning that the height of the lintel and

[31] Identification kindly provided by Melinda Torbágyi (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest).

[32] The Roman foot, the so-called *pes monetalis*, is virtually identical with the Attic foot (around 296 mm, with subdivisions into either 16 digits or 12 inches). Surveys and measurements show that in practice the value could have been between 290 and 300 mm.

[33] E. g. the Ptolemaic foot, the Macedonian foot, the Egyptian cubit. For these length units and modules, see Trapp 1998, pp. 205–211; Dilke 1991, pp. 44–55.



Fig. 9 Roman linen strip (a), coin (b), and funerary shroud (c–e) from TT -400- (Photos by LÁSZLÓ MÁTYUS)

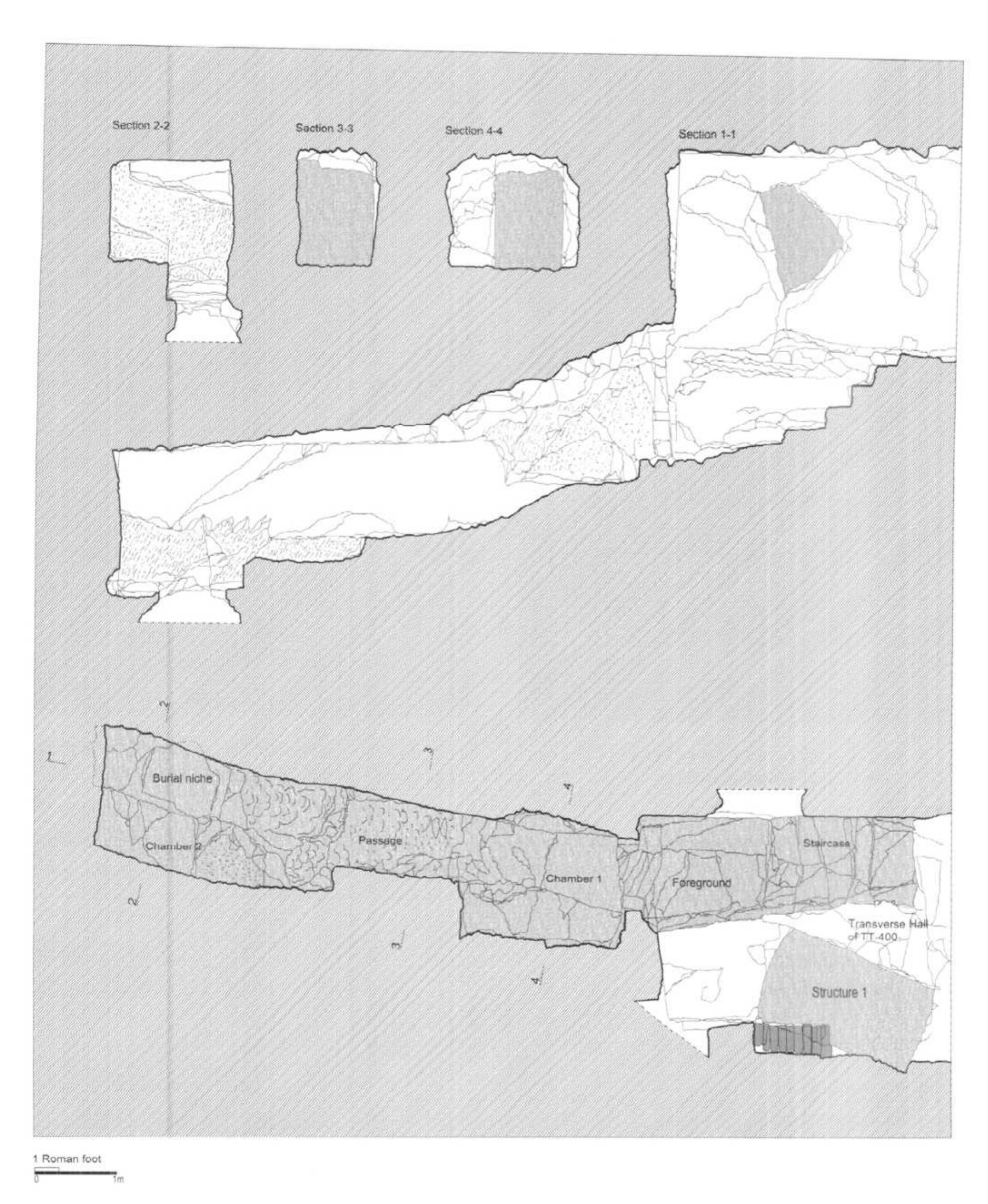


Fig. 10 Ground plan and sections of Structure 2 (Drawing by ZSOLT VASÁROS)

the doorjambs is exactly five modules. The base of the torus marking the top of the architrave coincides with the original, New Kingdom floor level of the transverse hall, a fact signifying that this was the base line relied on in starting the geometrically new construction of Structure 2 (Fig. 16a–b).

As has been shown above, Structure 2 may be divided into two functional units, i. e., the entrance with the stairs and the foreground, and the inner rooms. There is a bend in the longitudinal main axis between the two parts, a feature explained by differences in the geological formation of the bedrock in these two areas, which evidently necessitated some alterations to the original plan. Disregarding this fact, the application of the Roman foot as the core length unit with a minimum inner height of four modules for the chambers was systematically maintained and applied to the plan of the tomb. That this modular system was consciously used also in designing the overall plan of Structure 2 is demonstrated by the fact that the total length in the inner rooms (from the entrance door to the back wall of Chamber 2) is 22 mod-

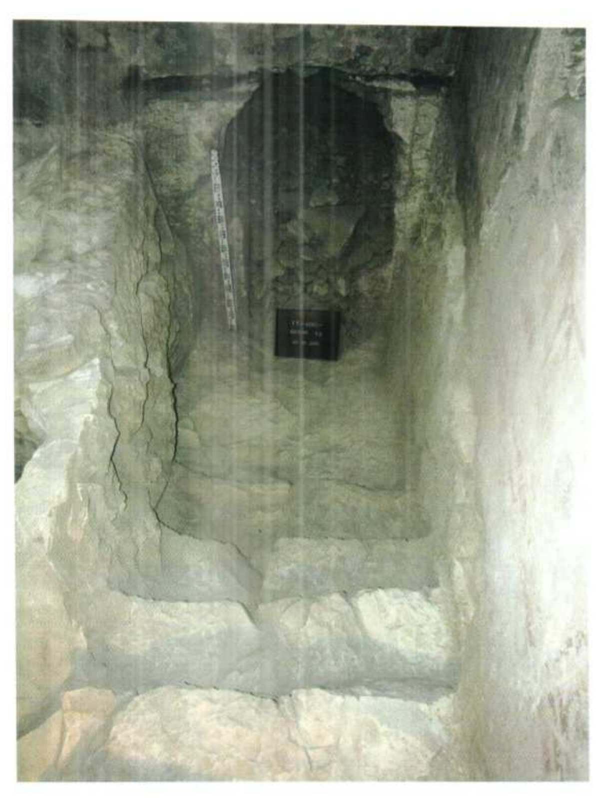


Fig. 11a Entrance of Structure 2
(Photo by GÁBOR SCHREIBER)

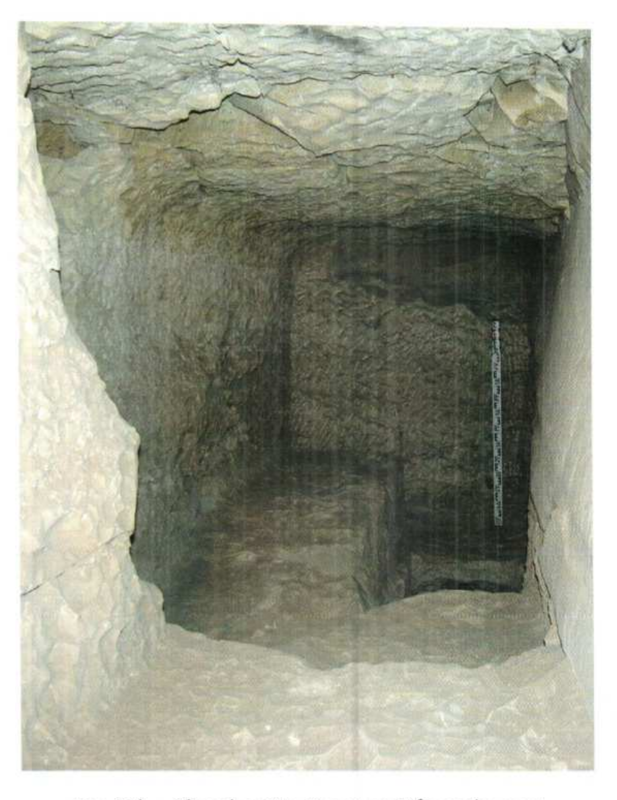


Fig. 11b Chamber 2 in Structure 2 from the east
(Photo by GÁBOR SCHREIBER)

Tab. 1 The most important measures of Structure 2 expressed in Roman foot and compared with the modular system of the transverse hall

Tomb -400-		
Width of the transverse hall	5	Egyptian royal cubits
Height of the transverse hall	4.5	Egyptian royal cubits
Structure 2		
Width of the staircase	3–4	Roman feet
Length of the staircase	6	Roman feet
Width of the foreground (in front of the entrance)	4	Roman feet
Length of the foreground (in front of the entrance)	5	Roman feet
Width of the entrance door	4	Roman feet
Height of the entrance door (without cavetto cornice)	5	Roman feet
Height of the entrance door (with cavetto cornice)	5.5	Roman feet
Width of Chamber 1	5	Roman feet
Length of Chamber 1	6	Roman feet
Height of Chamber 1	4	Roman feet
Width of the connecting passage	3	Roman feet
Length of the connecting passage	6	Roman feet
Height of the connecting passage	4	Roman feet
Width of Chamber 2	5	Roman feet
Length of Chamber 2	10	Roman feet
Height of Chamber 2	4.5–5	Roman feet

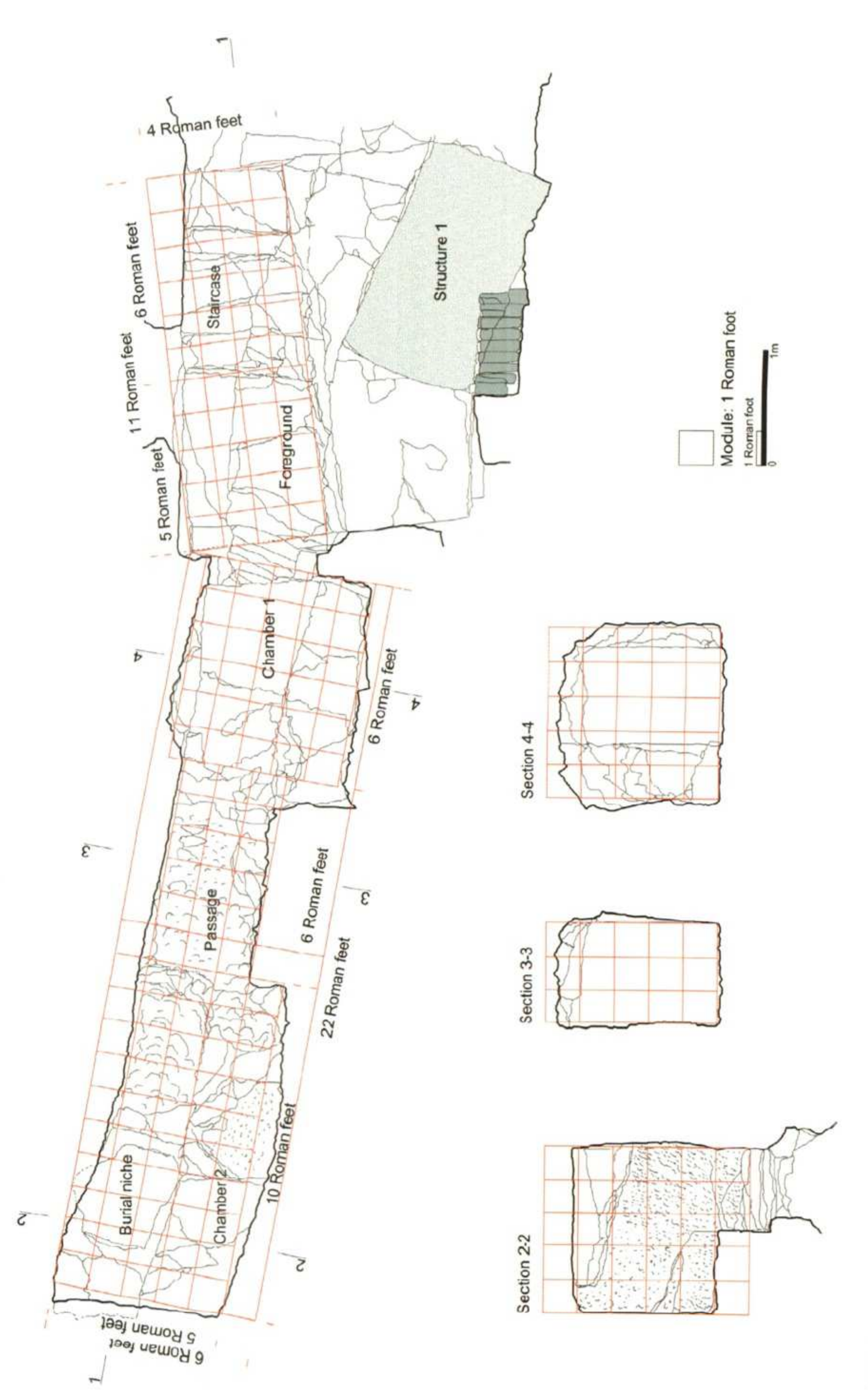


Fig. 12
Ground plan and sections of Structure 2 indicating the main proportions and the modular grid of the individual parts (Drawing by ZSOLT VASÁROS)

ules, while the length of the entrance is eleven modules. Thus, the two functional units of the tomb, 33 modules in total length, provide evidence for the application of the ratio 1:2, a highly preferred metric element in Egyptian architecture[34]. Remarkably, other ratios of width and length or width and height widely applied in Egyptian architecture can also be detected in the design (cf. Figs. 13, 15, and Tab. 2), which clearly

[34] BADAWY 1965, p. 23.

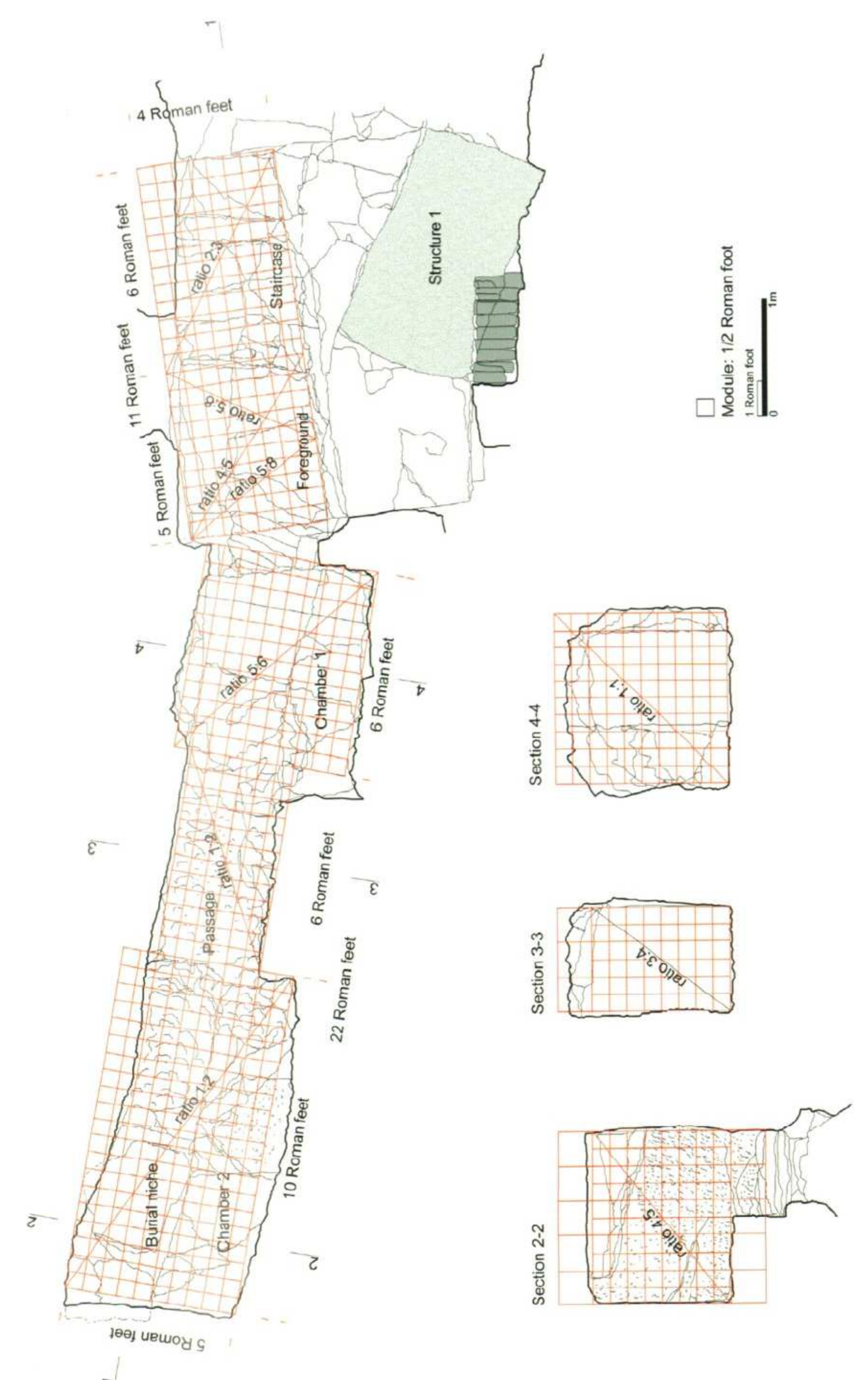


Fig. 13
Ground plan and sections of Structure 2 showing proportional coherences (Drawing by ZSOLT VASÁROS)

reveals that while the basic unit of length applied was the Roman foot, the architect of Structure 2 used the traditional Egyptian geometric construction methods to plan this secondary tomb.

Judging from the size of Structure 2 and the fact that its burial chamber is provided with a single coffin niche in the floor, one has the impression that this intrusive funerary monument was originally intended to house only one burial. Also considering the size of the niche in question, it seems likely that Structure 2 was constructed for the interment of an individual of the *juvenilis* age group. Remarkably, the clearing in



Fig. 14
Longitudinal section of Structure 2 indicating the main proportions and the modular grid of the individual parts (Drawing by ZSOLT VASÁROS)

Fig. 15
Longitudinal section of Structure 2 showing proportional coherences (Drawing by ZSOLT VASÁROS)

the transverse hall yielded several fragments from an Osiris shroud painted on red linen, which, on account of its size, must have belonged to the burial of a sub-adult male. As was noted above, physical anthropological evidence confirms the suggestion that one of those buried in TT -400- during the Roman Period was a juvenile who had a mummy bandaged in red linen. Unfortunately, Structure 2, the floor niche of which is in direct physical contact with an underlying burial chamber of 18th Dynasty date, was looted completely and excavations in its burial chamber have not yielded other than a highly mixed collection of potsherds ranging in date from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period. Despite this fact it seems most likely that the remnants of Roman burials found in the debris of the transverse hall and the fill of nearby Structure 1 originate from Structure 2, which, if so, would also speak for the reuse of the tomb as a multiple burial place. Besides Structure 2 other contemporary burials might have been deposited in the yet unexcavated lower chambers of TT -400-; finds from the same period have also been excavated in the sloping passage of the tomb.

As is demonstrated by the demotic inscriptions on linen strips, the Roman occupants of TT -400- bore Greek and Egyptian names. Since TT -400- appears to have been reused in this period for more or less than a century, it is likely that we are dealing here with the burials of one or two families in which Greek and Egyptian names alternate, in a way similar to the famous Soter family[35]. Although the burials in question varied, to be sure, in quality and style, a coherent fu-

[35] VAN LANDUYT 1995; HERBIN 2002; RIGGS 2005, pp. 182–205.

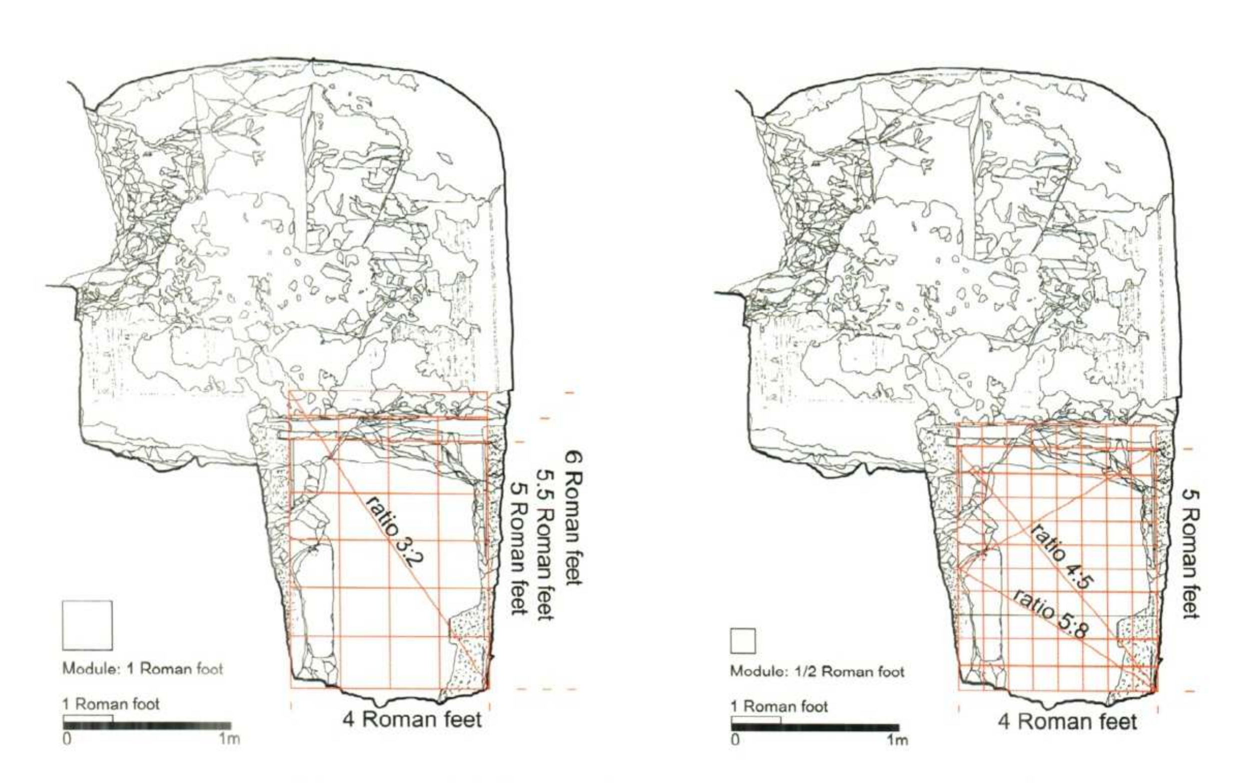


Fig. 16 Cross sections of the transverse hall of TT -400- showing proportional coherences of the entrance of Structure 2 (Drawings by ZSOLT VASÁROS)

Tab. 2 The most important proportional coherences of the individual parts of Structure 2

Staircase: ratio of width and length	2:3
Foreground: ratio of width and length	4:5 or 5:8
Entrance door: ratio of width and height	4:5 or 5:8
Chamber 1: ratio of width and length	5:6
Chamber 1: ratio of width and height	1:1
Connecting passage: ratio of width and length	1:2
Connecting passage: ratio of width and height	3:4
Chamber 2: ratio of width and length	1:2

nerary protocol emerges from the fact that providing the dead with inscribed linen strips and a painted funerary shroud was apparently mandatory in all instances. The large number of linen strips inscribed in demotic with the *ʿnḫ pꜣi=k/t by* (May your soul live) formula applied to the bandaging is especially notable, since to date few objects of this kind have been excavated under controlled archaeological circumstances at Thebes[36]. Another linen strip, inscribed in Greek with the name of one Dionysios spelled in the genitive case as ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ((Mummy) of Dionysios), also indicates that some of the burials were given both demotic and Greek strips (Fig. 9a and 17b).

Based on the extant fragments, at least five funerary shrouds can be ascribed to the Roman Period. The shrouds, all fragmentary and in a worn state of preservation, represent three different types. The Osiris-type shroud, well-known from the male interments of the Soter Group[37], is attested in the material by fragments from two specimens: one made for a juvenile (Fig. 9c–e), and a second for an adult, of which only a small fragment from the reticulate-patterned dress is preserved (Fig. 18a). This type of shroud depicts the deceased *en face*, in the guise of Osiris, with an *atef*-crown, crook and flail in the hands, a reticu-

[36] SPIEGELBERG 1925, pp. 29–30; 1928, p. 23.

[37] On the Soter shrouds, see PARLASCA 1966, pp. 164–167; HERBIN 2002, pp. 38–41; RIGGS 2005, pp. 194–198; AUBERT 2008, pp. 128–134; *Hungarian Excavations*, pp. 143–145 (No. 69). For further Soter-type shrouds from Thebes, see MORIMOTO 1985, Figs. 25–29; GABOLDE ET AL. 1994, p. 190, 194–195 (No. 21), pl. XVI; RIGGS/DEPAUW 2002, pp. 75–90; *Egyptian Textiles Museum*, p. 73. On the contemporary Osiris shrouds of Saqqara, see BRESCIANI 1996; AUBERT 2008, pp. 137–159. For a shroud from El-Deir (Kharga) comparable to the Theban ones, see DUNAND/TALLET/LETELLIER-WILLEMIN 2005, pp. 89–101.

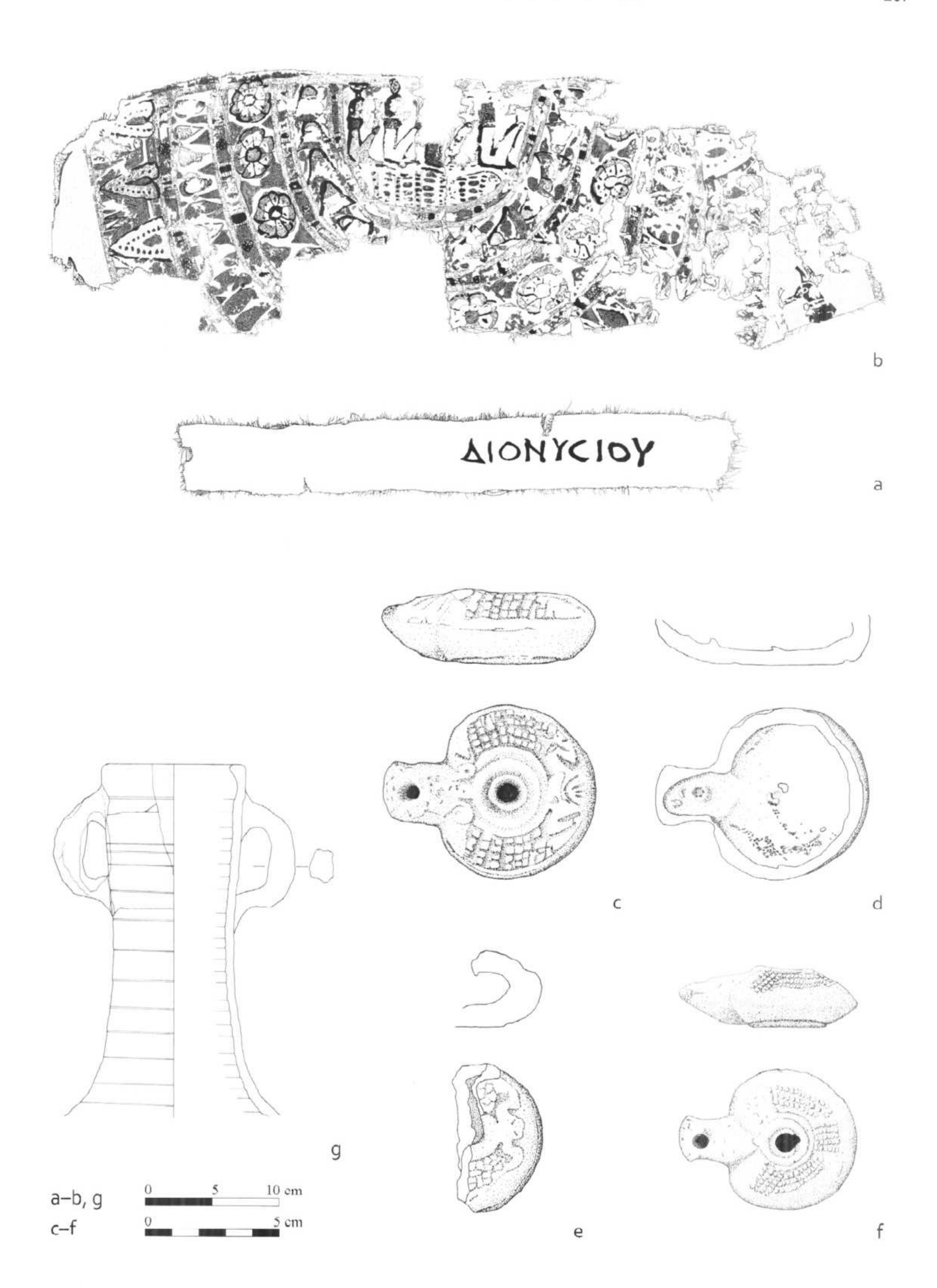


Fig. 17 Roman objects and pottery from TT -400- (scale: 17a–b, g = 1:4, 17c–f = 1:2) (Drawings by GÁBOR SCHREIBER, FIORELLA TORTORIELLO and ESZTER TÓTH)

late-patterned cloth, and often an ornamented mantle. In the Soter Group, this large central figure is always flanked by two tall floral bouquets and smaller, subsidiary figures on the sides. The depiction on each side of the feet of two jackals with the keys to the netherworld around their necks is another mandatory pictorial element on the Soter shrouds. The Osiris shroud of a juvenile from TT -400- faithfully reproduces the same general model, if in a slightly simplified form, by omitting the subsidiary figures. Out of the five fragments belonging to this shroud, one exhibits the right hand holding the crook, and four joining fragments the enshrouded feet with the ends of the tall bouquets flanking the central figure (Fig. 9c–e). Unlike in the Soter Group, the feet are shown mummified rather than wearing thong sandals and the usual vertical inscription running from the hands to feet is also missing. Similar, rather simplified, examples of the Osiris-type shroud were apparently far from infrequent at Thebes, since less-detailed versions of the same type, occasionally featuring the bed-netting dress only, are also known from other 2nd century AD burials, e. g., those discovered in the Valley of the Queens[38].

Another contemporary shroud type employs figural registers recalling earlier models, especially of the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic Periods[39]. Figural scenes in registers, moreover, also dominate in the decoration of the so-called mummy plastrons, in which the mummy cover extending over the chest and abdomen is combined with a mask[40]. One fragment from TT -400- with part of the collar and a winged deity must have belonged to a smaller shroud (Fig. 18b), whilst three joining fragments represent another, larger specimen, meticulously painted in polychrome over a thin buff coat (Figs. 17b, 18c). Since the central panels of this shroud are missing, the decoration cannot be convincingly reconstructed. The large collar with the representation of deities over the chest is at any rate an iconographic element unfamiliar to the shrouds of the Soter Group and reminds one more of the figure style of Ptolemaic cartonnages[41]. The jackal seen on the same fragment is at the same time suggestive that, by analogy with the Soter shrouds, it served as a subsidiary motif to a large central figure. What seems secure to state is that shrouds and plastrons that blended the characteristics of iconographies in more than one way also existed in this period, and the same may also hold true for the shroud in question.

Fragments from a further shroud represent a third, as yet unique type. As is illustrated by the few extant remains, this shroud was made in the openwork technique, with a decoration featuring a combination of geometric and floral patternwork and smaller figural panels (Fig. 18d–g). Judging from the identical technique and colour code, the painted linen sandal sole discovered in the sloping passage of TT -400- is likely to have belonged to the same mummy attire. Lacking analogous pieces for this type of mummy ornament from contemporary Thebes, the dating of this specimen to the same period remains entirely provisional, and a much earlier date range, plausibly to the 1st century AD or even earlier, is also possible.

Shrouds and inscribed linen strips constitute the overwhelming portion of the contemporary archaeological material from TT -400-. That this scenario is not only due to mere chance but mirrors rather graphically the character of contemporary Theban burials is shown by the fact that grave goods in Roman contexts are reportedly few in number in the archaeological record. Coffins, which by this time had become optional but not mandatory elements of the burial assemblage, are no exception to this rule. The almost complete lack of Roman coffin fragments in TT -400- is thus probably not only explained by the extensive looting which penetrated the tomb after antiquity. Based on a small fragment with a demotic inscription (Figs. 21e, 22e), however, it is rather evident that at least one of the burials was also furnished with a wooden coffin. The demotic inscription drawn in black over a white background may have been written on one of the long sides of the coffin[42], in a way similar to the famous coffin of Chelidon, now in the Louvre[43].

The Roman material from TT -400- is complemented by four 'frog lamps' (Fig. 17c–f)[44] and a few locally made amphorae with tall necks and pointed spikes (Fig. 17g)[45].

38 Lecuyot 1999, pp. 39–40, figs. 5, 7.

39 Lecuyot 1999, pp. 40–41.

40 Lecuyot 1999, pp. 41–42.

41 Cf. e. g. Schreiber 2006, Pls. 62–63.

42 See below, demotic inscription No. 10.

43 Nachtergael 2008, p. 58; Aubert 2008, pp. 74–77.

44 Rodziewicz 2005, p. 41 argues for a Ptolemaic origin of the frog lamps. One of our lamps (Fig. 17f), characterized by a stylized decoration composed of a multitude of fine small points, is actually identical with the type found at Elephantine that Rodziewicz considers an early (Late Ptolemaic) type: Rodziewicz 2005, No. 721. The other three examples from TT -400-, in which the legs of the frog as well as a volute on the nozzle are depicted, are probably somewhat later and may be dated to the early Imperial Period.

45 For comparanda, cf. Lecuyot 1996, pp. 156–157, Fig. 4, pl. IVb.



Fig. 18 Fragments of Roman funerary shrouds from TT -400- (Photos by LÁSZLÓ MÁTYUS)

Taking together the evidence, one can hardly escape the conclusion that however fragmentary this material is, the Roman finds from TT -400-, mostly dating from the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, testify to a certain degree of standardization and stylistic heterogeneity, both stemming from local traditions. Evaluating the Theban religious landscape of the Antonine rulers, one should not forget that this period is not only marked by a growing imprint from the Isiac religion attested, e. g., in the construction of the Sarapeum at Luxor under Hadrian[46] and the decoration of the Isis temple at Deir Shelwit under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius[47], but also the reconfiguration and development, for the last time in antiquity, of age-old Theban theological themes manifest in the construction of an entrance kiosk and a festival court for the Small Temple of the primordial Amun at Medinet Habu[48], the Deir el-Rumi temple, and a circular structure beside the Deir el-Rumi temple symbolizing the primeval mound[49]. All these constructions are quite telling in that the contemporary Theban theologians were not only competent to understand the doctrines and traditions of the local theology, but keen to rework, interpret, and further this heritage according to their own imagery in quite an original way. Looking at the contemporaneous funerary material from TT -400- and elsewhere, the same impression of a revival and a last great *floruit* seems to emerge.

4. The demotic inscriptions

During seasons 2007–2011, nine fragments of linen strips and one small piece of wood inscribed with demotic texts were found in the debris in the transverse hall of Theban Tomb -400-. The inscribed linen strips[50] were no doubt cut out of mummies and left behind accidentally by tomb robbers. Some of them display the original folding at the upper and lower edges[51]. The undamaged strip No. 8 proves that it was originally tied around some limb of a mummy, similarly to the small strips without inscriptions and with the edges folded back and bound around the ankles, legs, and arms of mummies in the Roman Period[52]. The dating of the strips proposed below is provisional, however; on paleographical grounds all of them can probably be dated to the Roman Period, more specifically to the late 1st and the 2nd centuries AD. All the demotic texts from TT -400- were written by different scribes. Based on the characteristics of the handwriting, the strips may be tentatively split into three broad chronological groups:

A) 1st century AD: Nos. 3, 5
B) Late 1st – early 2nd century AD: Nos. 2, 6, 9
C) 2nd century AD: Nos. 1, 7, 8

The wordings of the formulae applied in the texts have much in common with the demotic strips unearthed at Deir el-Medine[53] and some Theban coffin inscriptions of the 2nd century AD, which confirms the dating proposed for Group C. The use of the verb *rpy* in the formula *ꜥnḫ pꜣi=k/f by rpy=f* and its variants is not common on mummy bandages outside of Thebes[54] and appears only on the strips from Deir el-Medine, *proskynemata*[55], coffins from Thebes[56], and mummy labels[57]. Interestingly, the texts from Theban Tomb -400-, except for No. 9, although fragmentary, do not seem to contain the god's name Osiris, which is usually featured in similar funerary formulae.

1) Linen strip inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 19a, 20a)

Late 2nd century AD
Inv. No. 2007.T.004
Forecourt of Theban Tomb -400-, Trench L6
Dimension: 3.2 × 26.5 cm
Material: The textile is roughly woven and of medium brown colour. That the upper and lower edges of the strip must have been folded back is suggested by a lighter line below the written part.

[46] GOLVIN ET AL. 1986.
[47] ZIVIE ET AL. 1992.
[48] ARNOLD 1999, p. 265.
[49] LECUYOT/GABOLDE 1998; LECUYOT 1999, pp. 34–36. On the 'péri-thébain' building programme under the Antonines, see GRENIER 1997, pp. 175–177; cf. KAPER 1998, pp. 141–145.
[50] On the typology of mummy strips inscribed with demotic and Greek texts, see PESTMAN/THIEME 1978, pp. 225–231.
[51] Many published mummy strips with demotic inscription show the traces of this turn-back, e. g.: MIGAHID 2005, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9–12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22–25, 29–33; ZAGHLOUL 1990, Nos. 1–2, 3.2–3.6 (b–f), 3.8–3.9 (h, i), 3.11–3.13 (k, l, m), 3.15 (o), 3.19–3.21 (s, t, u). It seems that the line of the folding was often drawn beforehand.
[52] E. g. RAVEN/TACONIS 2005, p. 191 (Inv. No. AMM 25).
[53] SPIEGELBERG 1925, pp. 29–30; 1928, p. 23.
[54] The strips with demotic inscriptions are usually of unknown origin (PERNIGOTTI 1994) or assumed to be from Akhmim (ZAGHLOUL 1990; MIGAHID 2005). The strip published by WÅNGSTEDT (1967, p. 56) was bought in Luxor and is said to have been found in Thebes.
[55] THISSEN 1989, p. 197, No. 1.5; SPIEGELBERG 1928, pp. 14–17.
[56] VAN LANDUYT 1995, p. 78; RIGGS/DEPAUW 2002, pp. 80–81.
[57] MÖLLER 1913, p. 5, 4b.

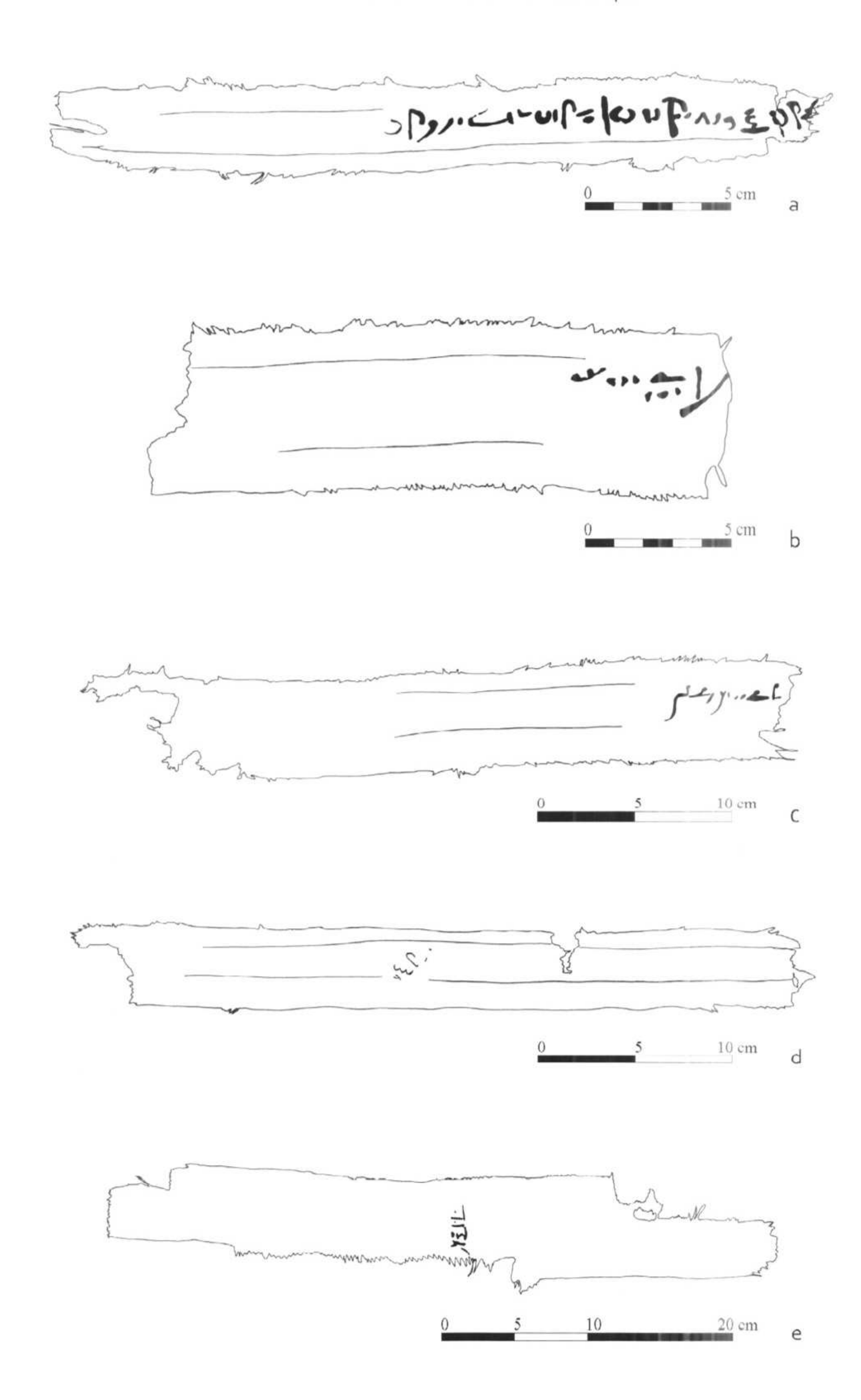


Fig. 19 Demotic linen strips from TT -400- (Drawings by ADRIENN ALMÁSY)



Fig. 20a–e Demotic linen strips from TT -400- (Photos by László Mátyus)

Text: The one-line text is written in very dark ink and with large, rustic signs. The right hand side of the strip is torn off and the second half of the inscription is completely blurred, making the text at the beginning and end incomplete. The paleography of the text suggests that it is to be dated later than the other strips found in TT -400-, possibly to the late 2nd century AD.

Transliteration: *ʿnḫ*][a)] *Pa-rpy*[b)] (*s3*) *P3-ʿnḫ p3i=k* (?) *by*[c)] [...

Translation: live] *Pa-rpy* (son of) *P3-ʿnḫ*, your soul [...

Notes:

a) Only the determinative of the word is preserved. According to the usual formula it could be a verb, *ʿnḫ* or *rpy*.

b) The first sign is damaged but the rest of the word makes the reading *Pa-rpy* very probable.

c) The first signs of the noun have been faded but the determinatives and the *-y* ending indicate the reading of *by*.

Commentary: The wording of the formula[58] is unusual in that the name and the filiation were inserted in the middle of the sentence, before the noun *by*. Although the father's name *P3-ʿnḫ* (Panches, Paachis) is well attested[59] both in demotic and Greek sources of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods[60], its occurrence in the Theban region is not known. The name of the deceased is probably the less-known *Pa-rpy* (LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 392 "Der des Tempels").

2) Linen strip inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 19b, 20b)

Late 1st century AD (?)
Inv. No. 2008.T.001
Transverse hall of Theban Tomb -400-, Sector C
Dimensions: 19.6 × 5.4 cm

Material: The textile is light brown and fine-textured. Both sides have been cut off, leaving only a small fragment from the original text. There are many small holes and a stain of 5.8 × 4.1 cm on the blank parts. The upper and the lower edges of the strip were no doubt folded back, as is suggested by the lines observable above and below the inscription.

Text: The inscription measures ca. 5.4 × 1.4 cm and is of faded grey colour. The signs are rough and written with a thick brush.

Transliteration: ...]*itys*

Translation: ...]*itys*

Commentary: The inscription is the fragment of a name terminating in -ιτης, which evokes a typical ending of certain Greek names, e. g. Apollonides (LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 14).

3) Linen strip inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 19c, 20c)

1st century AD
Inv. No. 2008.T.002
Transverse hall of Theban Tomb -400-, Sector C
Dimension: 35.6 × 5 cm

Material: The linen is fine-textured, densely woven and light brown in colour. There is a light grey stain of ca. 2 × 2 cm (ink?) below the written area, 1.6 cm from the right edge of the fragment, and a smaller stain (4 × 6 mm), ca. 7.6 cm from the right and 3 cm from the upper edge. The embalming chemicals stained the linen here and there. There are only three small holes on the uninscribed surfaces. Marks of the folding can be slightly seen on both edges.

Text: The written part measures 5.9 × 2 cm. The inscription consists of one continuously written line damaged on the left-hand side. The ink of the text is grey. The signs are fine and thin.

Transliteration: [*ʿnḫ p3i=k by r-nḥḥ* NN][a)] *rpy=f r-ḏt*[b)]

Translation: [May your soul live in eternity, NN], may it be rejuvenated forever.

Notes:

a) The first sign might be the determinative of the name of the deceased.

b) Although this writing of *ḏt* is not common, similar variants are known from the late Ptolemaic and the Roman periods in various contexts. The closest analogues are VLEEMING 1998, p. 495 and 511, No. 8 (mummy label from the 3rd century AD); SMITH 1995, p. 67, 9–10, and

[58] On the demotic formulae used on mummy linen, see ZAGHLOUL 1990.

[59] For the same name on an inscribed strip, see MIGAHID 2005, p. 149, No. 19.

[60] W. CLARYSSE/M. DEPAUW (eds.), *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, <http://prosptol.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/popup.php?mode=simple&q_id=12043> (26. 10. 2012).

68 (mummy label from the 2nd century AD); Barns 1952, p. 70, Pl. III (coffin from the late Ptolemaic or Roman Period); and Jasnow 1984, p. 88 and 93 (graffito 3224/2 and graffito 3446/4 from the Ptolemaic Period).

Commentary: In terms of its form, the text differs slightly from demotic formulae written on linen strips and mummy labels[61]. A parallel of the formula (*ʿnḫ p3i=k by r-nḥḥ rpy=f r-ḏt.*) is attested among the *proskynemata* of Medinet Habu (Thissen 1989, p. 197, 1.4). Considering that a large part of the strip is damaged, it is problematic to determine the date of the fragment. Based on the form of *ḏt*, I would propose a probable dating to the early 1st century AD.

4) Linen strip inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 19d, 20d)

Date unknown
Inv. No. 2009.T.006
Transverse hall of Theban Tomb -400-, Sector A
Dimension: 37.8 × 5.3 cm

Material: The linen strip is rough-textured and light brown in colour. Traces of the folding of the edges are clearly discernible.

Text: The signs measure 1.1 × 2.4 cm and were written at an angle of 45° degrees to the longer edge of the strip.

Commentary: The three signs are not identifiable. The text is clearly not a formula or a name. Instead, it is probably a short note or mark applied on the strip at the embalming house. The strip resembles the anepigraphic strips with folded edges that were tied around the limbs of contemporary mummies.

5) Linen strip inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 19e, 20e)

1st century AD (?)
Inv. No. 2009.T.008
Transverse hall of Theban Tomb -400-, Sector B
Dimension: 46 × 8.5 cm

Material: The linen strip, light brown in colour, is fine-textured. No lacunae or stains interrupt the text.

Text: The written part measures 3.6 × 1.1 cm. The text is written in black ink, crosswise on the strip[62]. The left part of the text is damaged. The signs are thin and finely elaborated.

Transliteration: *Wḏ3-rn=f*[...

Translation: Oserinef [...

Commentary: The fragment contains the name of the deceased. The feminine form of the same name (*Wḏ3-rn=s*)[63] is attested on two papyri. Cf. Lüddeckens 2000, p. 130 (Berlin P. 3098,6 and Berlin P. 5507,6 from the Ptolemaic Period)[64]. On these papyri the last signs, which might determine the gender of the name, are uncertain. The same name appears in a feminine form on strip No. 9 (see below).

6) Linen strip inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 21a, 22a)

Late 1st century AD
Inv. No. 2009.T.009
Transverse hall of Theban Tomb -400-, Sector B
Dimension: 18.8 × 7 cm

Material: The linen is rough-textured, and medium brown in colour. There is a dark stain 2.2 × 1.8 cm on the left-hand side of the text, 1.9 cm from the left edge. The vertical lines visible above and below the inscription are the remnants of folding. There are three holes below the text.

Text: The linen strip is damaged on both sides, with the beginning and end of the text being missing. The height of the written part is ca. 1.4 cm. The ink of the text is black, blurred here and there. The inscription consists of one continuously written line. The signs are small and fine.

Transliteration: *ʿnḫ] p3i=f by*[a)] *rpy=f r-nḥḥ*[b)] *iw=f str*[c)] (?) *Pa-mnṱ*[d)] *s3 P3-di-ḥr-p3-[rʿ*[e)]

Translation: [May] his soul [live], may it be rejuvenated forever, while he is sleeping (?): *Pa-mnṱ* son of *P3-di-ḥr-p3-[rʿ*

[61] On these types of formulae, see Möller 1913, pp. 4–5 (No. 3 is close to Type 4B: *ʿnḫ bj=s šʿ nḥḥ rpj=f šʿ ḏt*).

[62] For a similar composition, see Thieme/Pestman 1978, p. 227, § 3.a.

[63] On the different readings of the name, see Vittmann 1978, pp. 10–12. In the hieroglyphic sources both the feminine and the masculine forms are attested: *PN* I, 88.22 "heil ist ihr Name" and *PN* I, 88.21; Kamal 1905, p. 94 (CGC 22109: stela of *Wḏ3-rn=f*, son of *Irw*, Graeco-Roman Period); Schenkel 1975, p. 134, 144.

[64] Editions: Spiegelberg 1902, Taf. 18, 19; Griffith/Wilcken 1908, p. 107, note 1; Wilcken 1935, pp. 137–143, No. 177; Mairs/Martin 2008, p. 28 and 39. Greek translation of the demotic document: Berger 1889; Griffith/Wilcken 1908; Wilcken 1935, p. 139; Mairs/Martin 2008, p. 44: P. Leiden 413 Text C, line 20. The text is dated to 30 January 136 BC (Mairs/Martin 2008, p. 33).

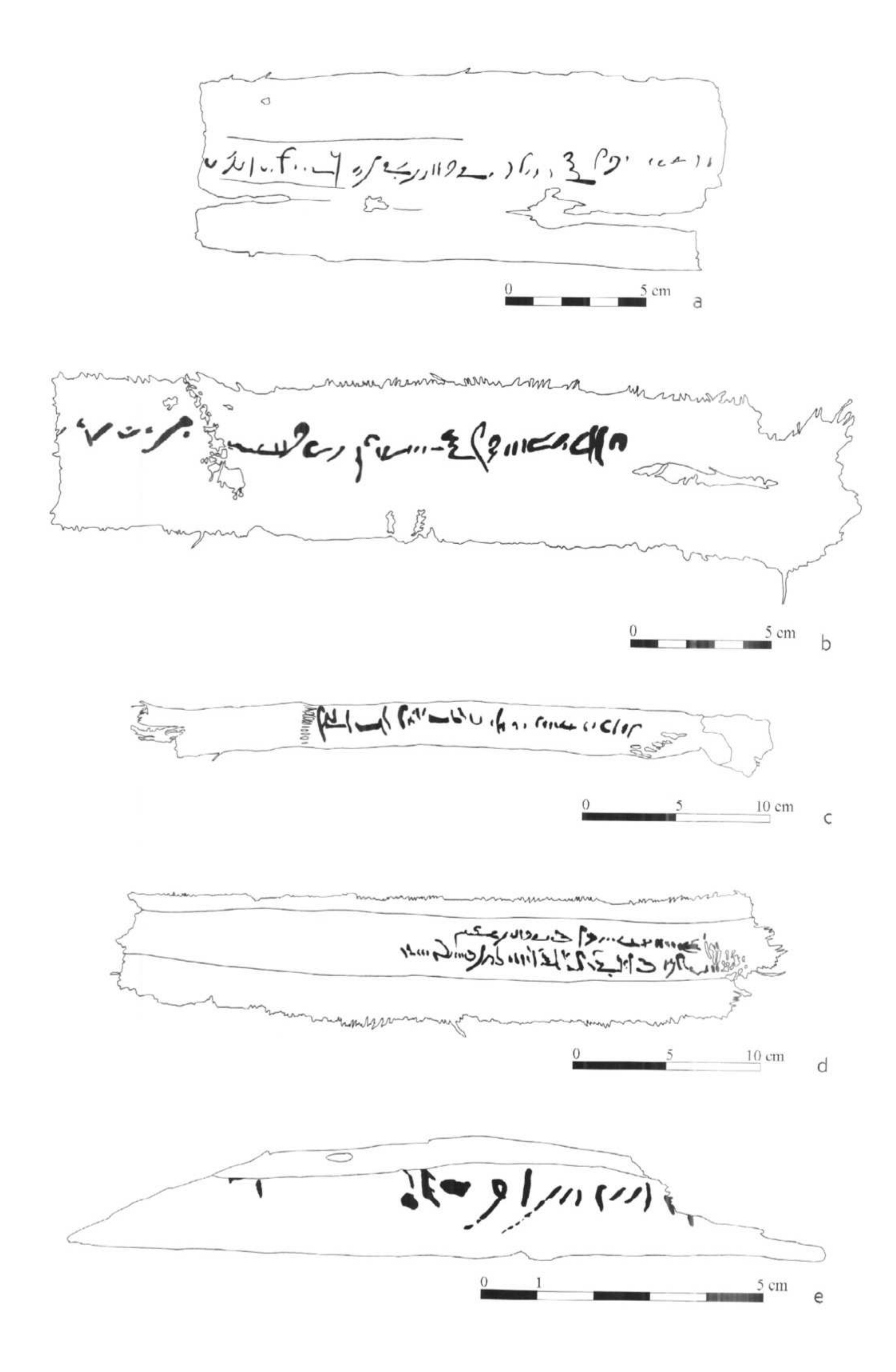


Fig. 21 Demotic linen strips (a–d) and coffin fragment (e) from TT -400- (Drawings by ADRIENN ALMÁSY)



Fig. 22 Demotic linen strips (a–d) and coffin fragment (e) from TT -400- (Photos by László Mátyus)

Notes:

a) The word, almost illegible, can be identified on the basis of the two determinatives. The first determinative (bird) was used in combination with this word from the Ptolemaic Period[65]. The pronounced upper loop of the second determinative points to the Roman Period: ERICHSEN 1954, p. 111; SPIEGELBERG 1925, p. 30; REICH 1931, pp. 88–89, Pl. XI; VLEEMING 2001, p. 239 [258] 1; GAUDARD/JOHNSON 2010, p. 207. No. 5.

b) The form of *nḥḥ* suggests a date in the Roman Period: ERICHSEN 1954, p. 224; SMITH 1995, p. 67, Nos. 6–8 (2nd century AD).

c) This group of signs is difficult to identify. In the usual formula written on mummy linen this word would be *šms*, but the absence of the following noun in the accusative rules out this reading. For the use of the verb *str*, see ERICHSEN 1954, p. 480 ("sich legen, schlafen"). For the synonym of the expression "be dead", see DEVAUCHELLE 1985, p. 97, No. 1 (mummy label from Deir el-Medine). The determinative of the verb might be the determinative for "dead": ERICHSEN 1937, p. 14, N 6; ERICHSEN 1954, p. 157.

d) For the name *Pa-mnṯ* "Der zu Month Gehörige", see LÜDDECKENS 2000, pp. 372–373 (Παμωνθης). On the hieroglyphic form of the name, see *PN* I, 124.24. For a similar form of the name, see SPIEGELBERG 1928, p. 21, 23 (bandage from Deir el-Medine, 1st–2nd centuries AD). In this case a stain makes the reading of the name somewhat problematic. The second sign may be *wsir* or *mnṯ*; the third sign is not legible. The other possible reading is *Pa-Wsir*/Παυσειρις (LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 360)[66], but *Pa-mnṯ* seems more probable to me.

e) For the name *P3-di-ḥr-p3-[rꜥ* "Der, den Horus-Re gegeben hat", see LÜDDECKENS 2000, pp. 326–327 (Πετεαρπρης). On the hieroglyphic form of the name, see *PN* I, 124.23. Because of the damage to the last signs the name cannot be identified with full certainty. Other possible readings may be *P3-di-ḥr-p3-ẖrd*/ Πετεαρποκρατης (LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 328; *PN* I, 125.1); *P3-di-ḥr-p3-šr-is.t*/ Πετεαρψενησις (LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 329); *P3-di-ḥr-p3-bik* (LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 325); *P3-di-ḥr-p3-ꜥẖm* (LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 325).

Commentary: The text is a variant of the formula common on mummy bandages[67]. Both names (*Pa-mnṯ*[68] and *P3-di-ḥr-p3-rꜥ*[69]) are widely attested in the Ptolemaic and the Roman Periods, but two Greek sources from Thebes giving comparable names and filiations are especially worth of note here. First, a certain Pamonthes, son of Peteharpres, is known from the Greek documents of the Memnoneia dating from the 2nd century: TAIT/PRÉAUX 1955, (O. Bodl. 2) 317, No. 1881 (*TM* 72564) and 416, No. 2383 (*TM* 73017). Second, on a Greek documentary ostracon dating from 53 AD and found in Thebes (WILCKEN 1899, O. Wilcken 2 406 = O. Louvre E 8044, *TM* 76917), the name Pamonthes Hermiou can be read. Although the father of the owner of this strip is Peteharpocrates, it is worth recalling that the name Hermias appears on strip No. 9 from TT -400- (see *infra*).

7) Linen strip inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 21b, 22b)

2nd century AD
Inv. No. 2011.T.001
From the fill of the shaft of Structure 1, Transverse hall, Theban Tomb -400-
Dimension: 27.6 × 5.4 cm
Material: The light brown linen strip is very fine-textured. Both ends of the strip are missing. The left hand side of the strip seems to have been cut off by looters.
Text: The dimensions of the text, rendered in one line, are 20.5 × 1.6 cm. The text is written in grey ink and is quite faded, which makes it difficult to read. One hole interrupts the text ca. 6 cm from the left edge and another broken part precedes the text, ca. 2.5 cm from the right end. The signs are roughly elaborated.

[65] Although ERICHSEN considered this determinative of the word to have been used only in the Roman Period (1954, 111), QUAEGEBEUR (1982, pp. 259–260) later convincingly pointed out that it had been used since the Ptolemaic Period.

[66] The names of *Pa-Wsir* and of his father *P3-di-ḥr-p3-ẖrd* are known from a magical stela dated to the Ptolemaic (DARESSY 1903, pp. 17–18) or the Roman Period (SPIEGELBERG 1904, p. 91; VLEEMING 2001, p. 84 [121] B [4]). For the occurrence of the same names, see also EL-AMIR 1959, p. 14, No. 3.

[67] For similar formulae on mummy linen: DEVAUCHELLE 1985, pp. 95–98; MIGAHID 2005, pp. 139–160; PERNIGOTTI 1994, pp. 44–46, 94–96; SPIEGELBERG 1925, pp. 31–33; SPIEGELBERG 1928, pp. 17–23; ZAGHLOUL 1990.

[68] W. CLARYSSE/M. DEPAUW (eds.), *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, <http://prosptol.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/popup.php?mode=advanced&q_id=12046> (26.10.2012).

[69] W. CLARYSSE/M. DEPAUW (eds.), *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, <http://prosptol.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/popup.php?mode=advanced&q_id=12048> (26.10.2012).

Transliteration: *ꜥnẖ pꜣi=f by*[a)] *rpy.w*[b)] *r-nḥḥ* [*ḏt?*] *Krkrw* (?) *sꜣ* [....

Translation: May his soul live, being rejuvenated forever [and ever] *Krkrw* son of [....

Notes:

a) This form of the first determinative of the word *by*, that is, bird ending in a spire, seems to be unparalleled.

b) The qualitative form of the verb[70] is not common, but attested on the mummy bandage of Munich[71], and the Papyrus Harkness[72].

Commentary: The reading of the name is problematic, given that the two *r*-signs are the only legible parts of it. Accordingly, it can most likely be reconstructed as *Krkrw* (LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 1009).

8) Linen strip inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 21c, 22c)

2nd century AD
Inv. No. 2011.T.002
From the fill of the shaft of Structure 1, Transverse hall, Theban Tomb -400-
Dimension: 33.5 × 2.5 cm

Material: The strip is intact, finely woven and medium brown in colour. The upper and lower edges are folded back along the entire length of the strip. It has a knot at the right side end, indicating it was an individual strip of linen tied around the arm or ankle of a mummy.

Text: The written part measures ca. 16.4 × 2.1 cm. The linen is slightly damaged on the blank surface at the left end. The ink is dark black, blurred here and there, and the first half of the text is badly faded. The signs are roughly elaborated and barely aligned.

Transliteration: *ꜥnẖ pꜣi=s by* [...][a)] *ta Gl-šr*[b)]

Translation: May her soul live [...] daughter of *Gl-šr*

Notes:

a) The name of the deceased is illegible (except the determinative).

b) The first sign is difficult to read but the most possible rendering is *Ta-*. For the father's name see LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 1033 ("Kalasirier")[73].

Commentary: As the demotic mummy bandages stored in museums are typically bought from antiquity traders, the written part has usually been systematically cut out by the sellers to make the strip more appealing. Accordingly, the position of the inscription on the mummy cannot usually be identified. The length and the folded back edges of the strip suggest in this case that it was tied around the leg of the deceased, probably below the knee.

9) Linen strip inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 21d, 22d)

Late 1st century AD (?)
Inv. No. 2011.T.003
Dimension: 34.5 × 6 cm

Material: The light brown textile is finely and densely woven. The marks of folding above and below the text show that the edges of the band were originally folded back similarly to the strip No. 8.

Text: The inscription consists of two lines written continuously in dark black ink. The strip was torn at the ends causing lacunae at the beginning of the text in both lines. The dimensions of the written part are 16 x 2 cm. The signs are small and well-elaborated; the text is easily legible and the hand is firm.

Transliteration:

1. *ꜥnẖ pꜣi=t by šꜥ nḥḥ r-ḏt*
2. *rp*]*y=f*[a)] *m-*[...][b)] *wsir Wḏꜣ-rn=s ta Hrmiꜣs*

Translation:

1. May your soul live until eternity and forever
2. may it be rejuvenated, [...] Osiris Oserinis, daughter of Hermias

Notes:

a) The first sign of the word is missing, but on the basis of the *-y* ending and the determinative one can assume the verb *rpy*.

b) As the second sign is blurred, the reading of the group is problematic. The first letter (*m-*) is clearly visible and in this context one should expect the preposition *m-bꜣḥ* "before".

c) On the reading of *Wḏꜣ-rn=s*, see the commentary on strip No. 5.

Commentary: Strip No. 5 bears a very similar name *Wḏꜣ-rn=f*. On the name *Wḏꜣ-rn=s* (Oserinis), see LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 130. The Greek name Hermias was frequent in Egypt in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. As for the Theban occurrences of the name, few Greek and Demotic sources are known. A certain Hermias having a legal procedure lived in

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[70] I am grateful to FRANÇOIS GAUDARD for drawing my attention to this form and its occurrences.

[71] SPIEGELBERG 1925, p. 31 No. 14.2.

[72] SMITH 1987, p. 88, note b and 84, note c.

[73] I would like to thank FRANÇOIS GAUDARD for suggesting this reading.

Tab. 3 Index of personal names preserved on the demotic mummy strips from TT -400-

Wḏꜣ-rn=f	No. 5 (Inv. No. 2009.T.008)
Wḏꜣ-rn=s, daughter of *Hrmiꜣs*	No. 9 (Inv. No. 2011.T.003)
Pa-mnṯ, son of *Pꜣ-di-ḥr-pꜣ-[rꜥ*	No. 6 (Inv. No. 2009.T.009)
Pa-rpy, son of *Pꜣ-ꜥnḫ*	No. 1 (Inv. No. 2007.T.004)
Krkrw?	No. 7 (Inv. No. 2011.T.001)
...]*itys*	No. 2 (Inv. No. 2008.T.001)
....*i*]*sy*	No. 10 (Inv. No. 2009.W.008)
[...], daughter of *Gl-šr*	No. 8 (Inv. No. 2011.T.002)

Thebes in the 2nd century BC[74], whereas a Demotic receipt from 71/70 BC found in Thebes makes an allusion to another Hermias, son of *Pꜣ-di-ḫnsw*[75]. A further Theban document dating from 59/58 BC mentions the same name with a different parentage: "Hermias, son of Philon"[76]. A Hermias living in Thebes during the reign of Tiberius is also known from a tax receipt written in 14/15 AD[77], whereas another document mentioning "Hermias the principal of Thebes" is dated to 110 AD[78]. The occurrence of the name is thus apparently not related to a particular period or territory.

A few Greek documents from Thebes, dated between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC, also mention the name Hermias[79]. According to another Greek document written on an ostracon, a certain Pamonthes, son of Hermias lived in Thebes during the 50s AD[80].

10) Fragment of a wooden coffin inscribed in demotic script (Figs. 21e, 22e)

Roman Period
Inv. No. 2009.W.009
Axial hall of Theban Tomb -400-
Dimension: length: 13 cm, height: 2.2 cm, width: 1.3 cm
Material: The fragment is damaged on both sides. A hole 6 mm in diameter is drilled in the upper part, 8.1 cm from the right edge, penetrating the fragment at an angle of 45 degrees.
Text: The script is black and finely elaborated. It is written over a thin white wash. The last three signs are blurred, and on the left of the fragment the remains of further signs indicate that the text had originally continued.
Transliteration: ....*i*]*sy*[a)](?) *ḥn*ꜥ[...
Translation: ....*i*]*sy*(?) and [...
Note:

a) The preserved signs must stand for a personal name. For a similar name, see LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 94[81]. It is, of course, also possible that the name was longer and the remaining part contains only the last few signs of it. This possibility allows for diverse readings, mostly demotic versions of Greek names with the ending –σιος, e. g. *tiꜣnsys*/Dionysios (LÜDDECKENS 2000, p. 1252). The Greek name Dionysios can be read on a linen strip of TT -400- (see *supra*).

Commentary: The small wooden fragment may have come from a coffin[82] or, less probably, a rectangular box[83] containing grave goods. The date of the fragment is uncertain.

[74] PESTMAN 1993, pp. 361–362; for the attestations of another Hermias, see *ibid.*, pp. 264–265.
[75] WÅNGSTEDT 1954, p. 168, No. 66.
[76] WÅNGSTEDT 1954, pp. 173–174, No. 70.
[77] NUR EL-DIN 1974, p. 47, No. 57.
[78] KAPLONY-HECKEL 1966, pp. 143–144.
[79] W. CLARYSSE/M. DEPAUW (eds.), *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be/prosptol/popup.php?mode=advanced&q_id=10671> (26.10.2012).
[80] See the commentary on strip No. 6.
[81] LÜDDECKENS mentions only one source for this name: KAPLONY-HECKEL 1963, p. 47, No. 11,1. The probable forerunner of this name is *PN* I, 46.5 or 46.7.
[82] For very similar patterns of joints on an inscribed coffin, see QUAEGEBEUR 1982, p. 260, No. 2 (TT 414 – Tomb of Ankh-Hor) dated 199–30 BC; SPIEGELBERG 1908, p. 158 (Strasbourg, Institute d'Egyptologie No. 1551, dated 30–1 BC, said to be from Luxor).
[83] In this case the hole drilled through the wooden fragment would indicate that the fragment comes from the upper part of a rectangular box joined with dowel-pins in a mitre joint (on this type of joint in Egyptian carpentry, see KILLEN 1994, p. 13 and 15 Fig. 16). Demotic inscriptions on boxes with personal name of the owner: FARID 1995, p. 189, No. II; BUDGE 1893, pp. 67–68, No. 14; HESS 1892, p. 121, No. 2.

5. Summary

The archaeological evidence available from Theban Tomb -400- confirms the view that the el-Khokha cemetery remained a prestigious burial place throughout the Ptolemaic and Imperial Periods. The distribution of contemporary finds within the cemetery is uneven. While Graeco-Roman material proved to be rather scarce and accidental in the local 18th Dynasty tombs, all the Ramesside tombs so far excavated have yielded significant collections of Ptolemaic and/or Roman funerary equipment. The apparent preference of the post-Pharaonic tomb owners for choosing Ramesside rock-cut tombs is probably explained by the fact that the sloping passages of Ramesside tombs provided easy and safe access to sizable burial chambers that could be transformed to house intrusive burials without considerable architectural alterations and building efforts. The earliest and most significant Ptolemaic group burial in the el-Khokha cemetery is that of the Nesmin family identified in Theban Tomb 32[84]. The male members of this family bore high-ranking priestly and administrative titles from Ptolemy I to at least Ptolemy III and cut four new side chambers for their own interments opening from the New Kingdom burial shaft at the terminus of the sloping passage. This practice, probably quite sporadic already during the early 3rd century BC, was, however, abandoned during the middle Ptolemaic Period, when already existing architectural spaces were reused exclusively. Based on the evidence from TT 32 and -400- it was not earlier than the late 3rd – early 2nd century BC that the transformation of the transverse halls into multiple burials also started. What could be detected in both neighbouring tombs is that the Ptolemaic owners paid considerable attention to restore the entrance areas in front of the rock-cut cult chapels that played a central role at the funeral and in the funerary cult and that they also restored the entrance to the cult chapels to secure the equipment. In terms of object typology, the Ptolemaic material found in TT -400- is supportive of the hypothesis that there seems to have been a gradual simplification of the burial equipment during the later 3rd century BC[85]. The exquisite coffin assemblage of two wooden coffins and a one- or two-piece cartonnage which characterises the early Ptolemaic elite burials had been dropped from the repertoire by this time to be replaced by a single wooden coffin in which the mummy is usually dressed in multiple-piece cartonnage ornaments. On the other hand, the Ptolemaic finds from TT -400- also elucidate that certain recurrent elements of the early Ptolemaic burial equipment, e. g. funerary papyri, linen strips inscribed with short formulae, and linen and faience amulets continued for a while into the 2nd century BC at Thebes.

The last great phase of the el-Khokha cemetery came in the early Imperial Period, in the later 1st century AD. As has been argued for by László Kákosy[86], Theban Tomb 32 is the most likely candidate for being identified with the so-called Soter Tomb. Whether or not the tomb of Djehutymes was the find spot of the burial equipment of Soter, *archon Thebon* and his family that was discovered and transported to Europe by various early explorers and antiquarians in 1820, TT 32 can be shown to have accommodated at least three interments that were provided with *par excellence* Soternalia and buried most probably in the Ptolemaic side chambers of the tomb[87]. The remnants of contemporaneous group burials discovered in Theban Tomb -400- not only provide data for the Roman history of the site but help better understand the characteristics of the Theban burial system during the Antonine Period. Those buried here in the later 1st and early 2nd century AD were equipped with demotic linen strips inscribed with the "May Your Soul Live"-formula and bore, similarly to the Soter family, alternating Egyptian and Greek names. The employment of lavishly decorated funerary shrouds, a mandatory element of equipment in the Soter Group, is also typical; however, while some of the shrouds from TT -400- faithfully reproduce the Soter specimens, if in a rather simplified form, others hark back to completely different, much earlier models. The Roman burials in TT -400- seem to have been laid to rest in a newly cut hypogeum-type tomb opening in the New Kingdom transverse hall. Remarkably enough, this tomb testifies to the use of traditional Egyptian construction techniques and, at the same time, the application of the Roman foot, the so-called *pes monetalis*, not introduced in Egypt before the Imperial Period, as a unit of length in the design of construction lines. The finds made in TT -400- thus serve as evidence for the co-existence of more iconographies than one within the contemporaneous Theban burial system and also illustrate that newly made secondary tombs, however sporadically, continued to be made until at least the later 1st century AD at Thebes.

The chronological frontiers of this phase of Theban funerary art are relatively precisely defined on the basis of death dates given in the Greek epitaphs of the Soter

[84] Schreiber 2011, pp. 109–124.
[85] Schreiber 2011, pp. 126–128.
[86] Kákosy 1995a.
[87] *Hungarian Excavations*, p. 143.

coffins. The latest of these is said to have been featured on a coffin which perished at sea while on its way to Europe in the 1820s, decorated and inscribed for one Senchonsis, who died in the ninth regnal year of Antoninus Pius, in 146 AD[88]. Based on a coin of the same emperor found in association with the Roman equipment in TT -400-, the extension of this phase into the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius can be confirmed.

Abstract

During the course of the Hungarian excavations in the Theban tomb of Khamin dating from the Ramesside Period (TT -400-) a significant collection of finds originating from Graeco-Roman burials was uncovered between 2007 and 2012. The excavated material can be split into two chronological phases, i. e., the middle Ptolemaic Period (2nd to early 1st century BC) and the early Imperial Period (late 1st to mid-2nd century AD). Burials of the earlier phase are characterized by multiple-piece cartonnage trappings and inscribed linen strips applied to the mummies. The Roman burials, originally deposited in the newly made secondary tomb Structure 2 opening from the transverse hall of TT -400-, are distinguished by the use of painted funerary shrouds, some of which show close resemblance to those known from the Soter Group. The Roman mummies interred in TT -400- were also provided with linen strips inscribed in demotic with a short formula for well-being in the hereafter. Some of these linen strips and a coin, probably of Antoninus Pius, indicate that the Roman interments in TT -400- continued well into the 2nd century AD.

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Ceramics and Status at Meidum's Northern Cemetery

By Leslie Anne Warden

Meidum provides a valuable case study for the investigation of relationships between non-royal individuals of the Old Kingdom. Multiple private cemeteries surrounding the pyramid of Snefru[1] essentially determine the extent of the site (Fig. 1). These cemeteries are mostly known through the excavations of W. M. F. Petrie in 1891 and in 1909–1910[2]. In addition, several hundred private tombs, generally poorer than those documented by Petrie, were excavated by A. Rowe of the Eckley B. Coxe Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania from 1929–1932. To date, these excavations remain unpublished, though accessible through archival documentation. The current article provides a basic overview of Rowe's excavations and details of several specific tombs. By analyzing the location of these tombs and the ceramic corpora which they contained, and further placing these data in context with the evidence from elite mastabas at the site, it is possible to illuminate similarities and differences in burial rituals across the non-royal classes and to further a reconstruction of the entire mortuary landscape and the relationships within it[3].

Most of the private tombs are clustered into one of three major areas, originally designated by Petrie: the Far Western Cemetery, the Southern Cemetery, and the Northern Cemetery. The Far Western Cemetery is composed of shaft tombs without remaining superstructures, though Petrie assumed superstructures had existed and simply been removed[4]. The burial chambers of these tombs were fully prepared, to the point of having portcullis stones at the entrance of the shaft awaiting placement[5]. The Southern Cemetery is located immediately to the east of the pyramid's enclosure wall. It may be divided into two sub-groups: one at the northeast corner of the pyramid's enclosure wall, centered around Mastaba M17, and another further southwest, partially clustered around the pyramid causeway (M19–29)[6]. The Northern Cemetery stretches north of the pyramid, following the natural ridge of the landscape. Sixteen mastabas dominate this area, numbered M1–M16, largely organized in a single-file line. This cemetery includes the famous tombs of Nefermaat and Atet (M16) and Rahotep and Nofret (M6).

Rowe worked at the pyramid as well as in the Northern Cemetery, where he uncovered a large number of private tombs of variable complexity, many without superstructures[7]. The excavations were thoroughly documented to the standards of the time and four articles were prepared for publication in the *Mu-*

[1] M. Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, London 1997, pp. 97–99.

[2] W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum*, London 1892 (hereafter W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum*); W. M. F. Petrie/E. Mackay/G. Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis* III, London 1910 (hereafter W. M. F. Petrie/E. Mackay/G. Wainwright, *Meydum*). Certainly Petrie's work has codified our understanding of this site and its structure and has guided later excavations such as that of A. el-Khouli: A. el-Khouli, *Meidum*, Sydney 1991.

[3] Janet Richards notes that Egyptian mortuary landscapes are rarely discussed as a unit. Sometimes, particularly in early excavations, necropoleis are not even recorded as a unit. Rather, scholarly and lay interest in the monumental has often biased our discussion to the elite and the royal, essentially editing out other tiers of Egyptian society – whether they existed at the site or not. J. Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 50–64.

[4] W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum*, p. 19.

[5] W. M. F. Petrie/E. Mackay/G. Wainwright, *Meydum*, pp. 5–6.

[6] W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum*, pp. 11–13, 20–21. The superstructures of M19–29 had already been very denuded at the beginning of Petrie's excavations.

[7] Petrie's excavations uncovered a far smaller number of shaft tombs, and for the most part they were poorly published. Thirty-nine shaft tombs excavated during Petrie's 1909–1910 excavations, assigned tomb numbers in the low 100s, were published by E. Mackay; however, it is impossible to place these tombs in context as they were published without a greater plan of the site. Discussing their ceramic corpora is moot as only one tomb (103) is noted as containing a pot, though vessels from tomb 100 are also illustrated. Mackay instead focused upon the deposition of the bodies. W. M. F. Petrie/E. Mackay/G. Wainwright, *Meydum*, pp. 28–35, Pl. XXVI.

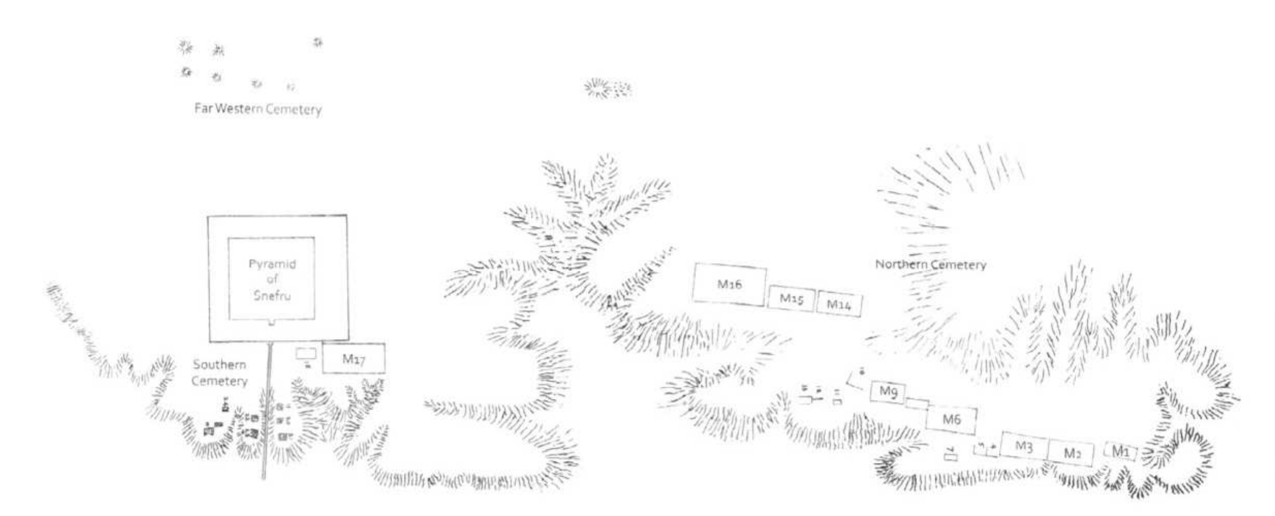


Fig. 1 General map of Meidum (W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. I)

seum Journal, then published by the University of Pennsylvania Museum (now the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; hereafter Penn Museum). The first article, dealing with the pyramid itself, was printed, but the financial depression of the 1930s forced closure of the *Journal* and presentation of Rowe's work on the private cemeteries never saw print[8]. Because of the limited publication of the excavation, these private tombs have found very little reference in the literature[9].

Today, Rowe's manuscripts and inked illustrations are held by the University Museum Archives in Philadelphia. Though they are of course dated in both presentation and approach, focusing on architecture and with a minimal discussion of ceramics or other common finds, his reports provide a helpful synthesis of the fieldwork and a basic entry point into his data. Additionally, the Museum Archives also hold all the documentary material from Rowe's excavation, including field notes, tomb cards (documenting the day-by-day excavations of each tomb uncovered), object cards (a card for most, but not all, of the objects uncovered), field notebooks, and the finds register. Some of the artifacts from the excavation – particularly pottery – were awarded to the Penn Museum through *partage* with the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. These objects remain in the Penn Museum's holdings today. The current author was provided access to the Penn Museum's Meidum materials both in the archives and in the collections; while this is certainly not the place for reanalysis and publication of the full site, this material provides the bulk of data discussed here.

The work on the private cemeteries conducted by Rowe on behalf of the Coxe Expedition provides the best window into private burial practices and relationships at Meidum. Unlike Petrie's excavations, the Coxe Expedition focused largely on shaft tombs with no extant superstructure. As Alexanian has noted, a tomb's size strongly correlates to the socioeconomic status of the tomb owner[10]. Thus, Rowe's small shaft tombs[11], together with the mastabas of the Northern Cemetery, show the several social classes had access to burial at the site. This paper will focus on specific tombs in the Northern Cemetery, where the data are particularly rich. This choice is dictated in part by an interest in reinvestigating Rowe's ceramic corpora. These tombs are well documented in Rowe's notes and some, if not all, of their ceramics are held by the Penn Museum, allowing one to cross-reference field records with actual artifacts.

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[8] Alessandro Pezzati, personal communication.

[9] The most thorough discussion of the private tombs excavated by the Coxe expedition is found in G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*, Cambridge, MA 1936, pp. 206–225 (hereafter G. A. Reisner, *Tomb Development*). Reisner had access to Rowe's notes and published some of his prepared plans.

[10] See N. Alexanian, *Social Dimensions of Old Kingdom Mastaba Architecture*, in: Z. Hawass/L. P. Brock (eds.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*, Cairo 2003, pp. 89–94.

[11] The terminology 'shaft tomb' will be used throughout this article to denote the poorer tombs with no extant superstructure. It is possible that each tomb did originally have a superstructure. However, only the shaft and burial chambers are preserved, and the term 'shaft tomb' becomes a convenient shorthand.

Dating the cemeteries

The majority of private tombs excavated by PETRIE and, later, ROWE, appear to date to the Old Kingdom. Later tombs exist at Meidum, particularly evident in the New Kingdom tombs along the scarp flanking the Northern cemetery[12] and New Kingdom to Roman Period intrusive tombs built into Old Kingdom mastaba bodies[13]. However, third millennium internments form the conceptual core of this site. PETRIE and ROWE both dated the Old Kingdom tombs at the site to the early Old Kingdom, between the reign of Huni and slightly after the reign of Snefru. In this, Meidum resembles any pyramid site, where private cemeteries of the king's retainers were established upon the building of the pyramid. Few mastabas were dated prosopographically (such as M6, where the names of Rahotep and Nofret are clearly inscribed); the majority of mastabas were anepigraphic. PETRIE, ROWE, and to some extent G. A. REISNER were left to date most of these tombs by architecture or simply by an understood association with the pyramid. The architecture of the mastaba superstructures has been typed to the reign of Snefru, with M17 being the earliest[14]. The earliest mastaba substructures were constructed within open pits and bear resemblance to Third Dynasty tombs[15]. The latest type of shaft structure identified at Meidum is also found in Giza tombs dating to the middle of the Fourth Dynasty[16]. Once established, a tomb's architectural date was generally imposed upon the material record and assumed to be the date of all artifacts. Thus, documentation from the Coxe expedition is littered with references to "IV Dynasty model dishes" or "IV Dynasty water jars" without any real study of the ceramics and often with little documentation of the vessels themselves. However, as seen below, these dates generally hold.

At least one of the Meidum cemeteries appears to have continued growth after the Fourth Dynasty. T. RZEUSKA has recently reanalyzed some of the pottery from PETRIE's 1891 excavations in the causeway portion of the Southern Cemetery. She suggests that many of these tombs – particularly M22, M24, M27, and M29 – date to the Sixth Dynasty rather than the reign of Snefru[17]. The ceramic corpora from these tombs include Meidum bowls with small carinated rims, common in the late Old Kingdom, as well as bowls with inturned rims forming spouts and other forms well known at Sixth Dynasty West Saqqara[18]. RZEUSKA also notes that the architectural feature of ritual shafts, found in M24 and M27, also appear in Sixth Dynasty mastabas at West Saqqara[19]. While RZEUSKA's re-dating of these tombs is sound, there is reason to suspect the causeway cluster of tombs in the Southern Cemetery was an isolated late Old Kingdom addition to the Meidum landscape. Fourth Dynasty high officials were apparently relegated to the Northern Cemetery. The major exception was M17, immediately northeast of the pyramid enclosure. It seems to have been built during the reign of Snefru; the tomb owner was likely given special dispensation for its location. Few tombs surround M17, which suggests a restriction on the use of this area in the Fourth Dynasty. PETRIE's plans show the causeway tombs of

[12] These New Kingdom tombs were excavated by ROWE and marked on his Map B, originally intended by him for printing with his fourth excavation report on the site. The plan is housed today in folder M-11-5, University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives. Reproduced here as Fig. 2.

[13] For example, burials dating to the New Kingdom were trenched into M17 and M16. M17 particularly was a subject of intensive devotion, containing 162 intrusive tombs yielding 415 burials of New Kingdom and later date. W. M. F. PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 14; Coxe Expedition tomb card for M17 west and southwest corner, 11–26 Dec 1930, Meidum Box 17, University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives; A. ROWE, *Excavations of the Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., Expedition at Meydûm, Egypt, 1929–1930, 1930–31 – The Great Mastaba Number 17*, vol. 3, unpublished manuscript, 1932?, p. 7. Text held by the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, Egypt folder 24/2 (hereafter A. ROWE, *Meydûm* 3). All Coxe tomb cards and object cards are held by the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, and the location will no longer be noted hereafter.

[14] G. A. REISNER, *Tomb Development*, pp. 217–218; A. ROWE, *Excavations of the Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., Expedition at Meydûm, Egypt, 1929–1930 Season – Plans, Drawings, Photographs and Descriptions of the Pyramid, Pyramid Temple, Causeway, Mastabah 17, and Inscribed Objects, together with Plans and Photographs of the Tombs, and Translations of the Inscriptions*, vol. 1, unpublished manuscript (extended manuscript of later published article) 1931, p. 41. Text held by the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, Egypt folder 23/6; A. ROWE, *Meydûm* 3, pp. 14–15. For discussion of the difficulties of dating mastabas – which were often built in multiple phases – to a specific data by architecture, see P. JANOSÍ, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie. Die Baugeschichte und Belegung einer Nekropole des Alten Reiches* I. *Die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber*, Vienna 2005, p. 38, 52–55; P. JANOSÍ, *Old Kingdom Tombs and Dating – Problems and Priorities. The Cemetery en Échelon at Giza*, in: M. BÁRTA (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference Prague, May 31 – June 4, 2004*, Prague 2006, pp. 176–182.

[15] G. A. REISNER, *Tomb Development*, pp. 206–207.

[16] For example, tomb 518: *ibid.*, pp. 216–219.

[17] T. RZEUSKA, *Meidum Revisited. Remarks on the Late Old Kingdom Topography of the Site*, in: M. BÁRTA/R. COPPENS/J. KREJČÍ (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague 2011, pp. 712–716, 719 (hereafter T. RZEUSKA, *Meidum Revisited*). For the dating of Meidum bowls, see L. OP DE BEECK, *Possibilities and Restrictions for the Use of Maidum-bowls as Chronological Indicators*, in: *CCE* 7, 2004, pp. 239–280.

[18] T. RZEUSKA, *Meidum Revisited*, Figs. 2–4, 6a, 6b, 8–9.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 710; T. RZEUSKA, *Saqqara* II. *Pottery of the Late Old Kingdom, Funerary Pottery and Burial Customs*, Warsaw 2006, pp. 494–502, 509–511 (hereafter T. RZEUSKA, *Saqqara* II).

the Southern Cemetery to have consisted of smaller mastabas than found in the Northern Cemetery, with haphazard organization unlike the linearly arranged Northern Cemetery[20]. The appearance of these smaller, Sixth Dynasty mastabas close to the pyramid are likely markers of the declining prestige of the Meidum necropolis at this period, a decline which allowed lesser ranked elite to associate themselves with a former king and profit from that proximity.

The pottery from the Northern Cemetery and, to a lesser extent, the architecture of the tombs, confirms that its tombs are of Fourth Dynasty date. The corpus is dominated by miniature vessels which occur predominately in Fourth Dynasty tombs[21]. The remainder of the pottery, discussed below, also fits within the Fourth Dynasty corpus. Architecturally, the sixteen mastabas of the Northern Cemetery are of varying sizes, generally larger than the Sixth Dynasty mastabas of the Southern Cemetery. Most of the Northern Cemetery's mastabas have external niches and, occasionally, external courts for the offering ritual, though some have internal chapels[22]; these elements are common in early Old Kingdom mastabas. The largest two tombs, the aforementioned mastabas M16 and M6, belong to titled individuals from the reign of Snefru. M16, being the largest, is approximately 115 m by 63 m[23]. The shaft tombs are more difficult to date, as any superstructure they might have had is now missing. The architecture of their substructures generally falls in line with examples found in Giza dating to the reign of Khufu[24].

Location within the Northern Cemetery

The Northern Cemetery is comprised of both shaft and mastaba tombs belonging to tomb owners of differing statuses. The mastabas help establish the organizational principle of the cemetery: linearly arranged, generally following the scarp (Fig. 2). In addition to M1 through M16, identified by PETRIE, ROWE noted one mastaba in this cemetery unexcavated by PETRIE (ROWE number 393). He also renumbered several of PETRIE's mastabas to fit within his own numbering system: hence, M10 became 395 and M14 was renumbered 552. Individual shafts within these two mastabas were also given their own numbers. Locating a tomb near the cliff appears to have been the most important objective, forcing M14–M16 to break the line and establish themselves further west so that they might have plateau space substantial enough for their large mass. Recorded by PETRIE as being incompletely preserved and presumably already mined for construction materials, the superstructures of M11–14 and M1–M4 were demolished by the time of ROWE's excavations.

Mastaba tombs could exploit visibility both through their monumental scale and through location on high points in the landscape[25]. By manipulating landscape and architecture in tandem, the elite were able to impose an awareness of themselves within the cemetery as well as impose their supervision of the living in the Nile Valley. Mastabas must also be concerned with accessibility, as the living must be able to find their way to the mastaba's offering installments in order to perpetuate the cult of the deceased[26]. Indeed, Meidum's mastaba tombs follow this formula, being both imposing and accessible, tracing the lines of the cliffs to be accessible while being far enough west of the edge in order to create thoroughfares for the living.

Surrounding these 17 mastabas, the Coxe expedition excavated around one hundred tombs which bore no evidence for a superstructure. Indeed, the close proximity of tombs such as 442–448 and 570–607 indicate that the tombs were built without con-

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20 W. M. F. PETRIE, *Medum*, Pl. VI.

21 T. RZEUSKA, *Saqqara* II, p. 451.

22 W. M. F. PETRIE, *Medum*, pp. 16, 19, Pl. VII. Several of the mastabas were built in multiple phases, with their offering space evolving over those additions, as in the case of M6 (Rahotep). For discussion of chapel evolution during the reign of Snefru, see G. A. REISNER, *Tomb Development*, pp. 202–236. For discussion of chapel evolution from the reign of Khufu forwards at Giza, see P. JANOSÍ, *Giza in der 4. Dynastie. Die Baugeschichte und Belegung einer Nekropole des Alten Reiches* I. *Die Mastabas der Kernfriedhöfe und die Felsgräber*, Vienna 2005, pp. 154–202.

23 W. M. F. PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 15.

24 G. A. REISNER, *Tomb Development*, p. 218. ROWE developed a typology for the shaft tombs uncovered by his excavations, dividing them into five types depending upon location of burial chamber and number of chambers or recesses: A. ROWE, *Excavations of the Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., Expedition at Meydûm, Egypt, 1929–1932*, vol. 4, unpublished manuscript, 1933, pp. 38–83. Text held by the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, Egypt folder 24/3 (hereafter A. ROWE, *Meydûm* 4).

25 One example of this practice, and one which the royal house seems to have deliberately exploited as a political landscape, is late Old Kingdom Abydos. See, for example, the tomb of Weni: J. RICHARDS, *Spatial and Verbal Rhetorics of Power. Constructing Late Old Kingdom History*, in: *JEgH* 3 no. 2, 2010, pp. 347–354; J. RICHARDS, *Text and Context in Late Old Kingdom Egypt. The Archaeology and Historiography of Weni the Elder*, in: *JARCE* 39, 2002, pp. 89–90.

26 For a discussion of how tomb owners actively used the alignment of their tombs to attract visitors: A. M. ROTH, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants: Including G 2084–2099, G 2230+2231, and G 2240*, Boston 1995, pp. 23–25 and subsequent analysis.

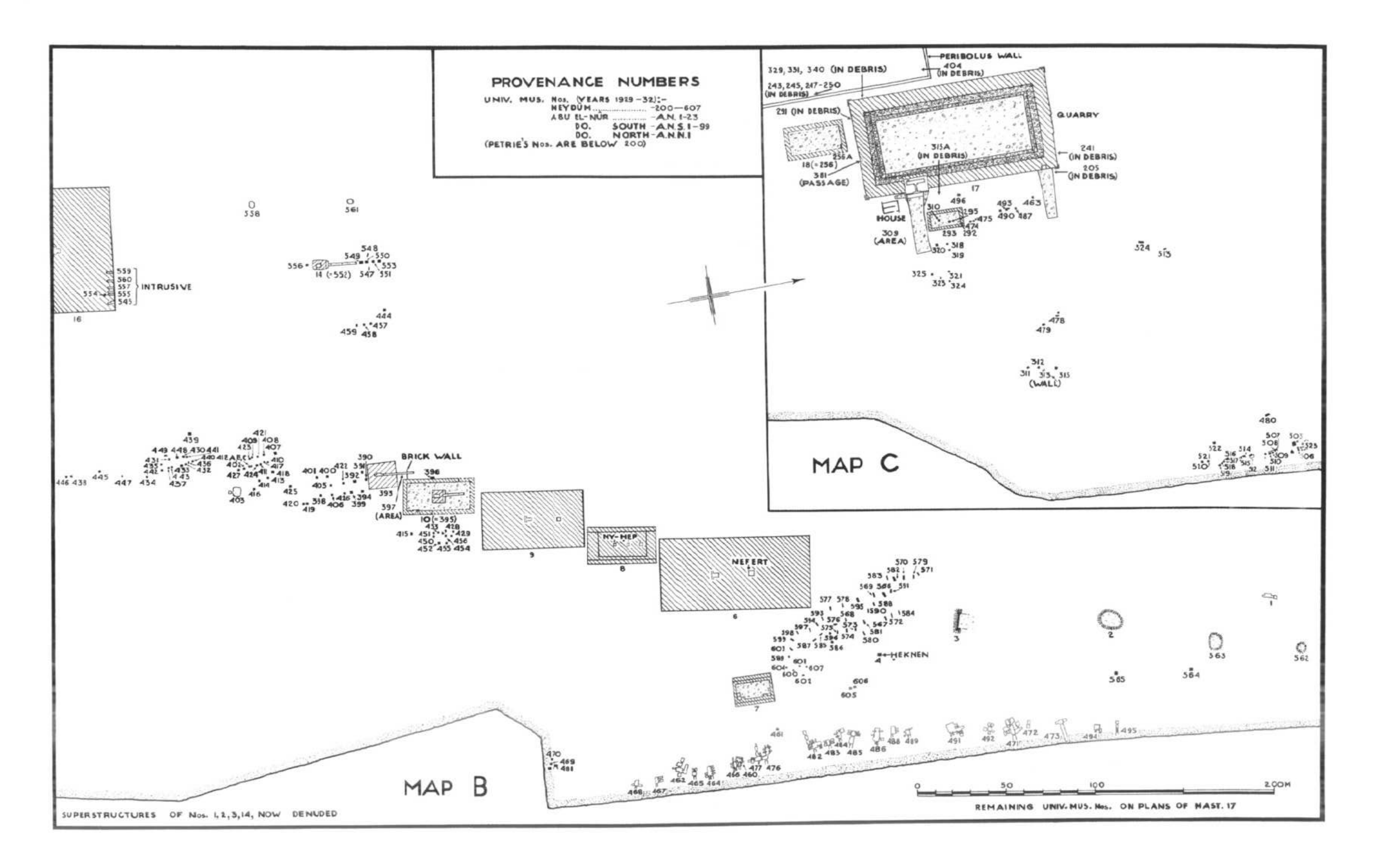


Fig. 2 ROWE's map B (Courtesy University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives)

cern for leaving space for anything but a modest superstructure – if even that. Any superstructures would have been tightly clustered and individually of little note. If small superstructures did exist, of stone or mudbrick, it is likely they resembled structures found at earlier provincial cemeteries such as Naga ed-Deir[27].

The shaft tombs of the Northern Cemetery did not take advantage of the contours or rise of the plateau, which would have afforded them maximum visibility[28]. Their placement rather indicates little interest in their accessibility or visibility to the living. The shaft tombs are close enough together for one to have acted as an obstruction to its neighbors. The invisible, inaccessible location of the shaft tombs further suggests that their offering installations were minimal if present at all. These tomb owners did not demand or perhaps expect an ongoing cult. Their tombs did not impose their owners' memories upon the living. Yet there was no effort to establish a designated cemetery for these individuals[29]. Their placement instead appears to have been determined by the elite mastabas. The intention seems to have been to cluster tightly into any available empty space within this cemetery. The shaft tomb owners, like modern archaeologists, defined the Northern Cemetery as a zone of elite mastabas. By clustering shaft tombs into two large groups, the owners of those tombs were able to associate themselves with an elite controlled area and perhaps with an elite afterlife. They inserted themselves into a landscape of memory, of funerary memorials, even though their own modest burials would themselves have merited only forgetting.

Introduction to the Ceramic Corpora

Unsurprisingly, the shaft tombs generally contained a more impoverished body of pottery than did the nearby mastabas. In discussing these corpora, I, in large part, follow the distinctions drawn in pottery assemblages by Rzeuska: 'funeral pottery', the vessels deposited during funerary rituals; and 'cultic pottery', vessels deposited in offering contexts by the living[30]. The 'cultic pottery' assemblage is the product of repeated actions and represents goods and practices which had to occur more than once in order to be efficacious. 'Funeral pottery', on the other hand, is the remnant of a single depositional moment. The act of the funeral could not be repeated. Thus, the purpose of the pottery used in this ceremony was fulfilled within this one-time event; it then became a permanent deposit.

The shaft tombs contained no cultic pottery when excavated, most likely due to the lack of any remaining superstructure. However, the shaft burials do have two types of funeral pottery:

1) Materials deposited in the burial chamber for use of the deceased, and
2) vessels deposited in the shaft as mourners and/or priests filled the shaft during the funeral.

This first division is more accurately a group unto itself, here termed 'burial pottery'. 'Burial pottery' was intended for reoccurring use by the deceased throughout the afterlife. Accordingly, they are placed in the burial chamber where they are accessible to the body. 'Funeral pottery', on the other hand appears in the fill or in ritual shafts[31] where their very inaccessibility closed the relationship of the dead and living, finalizing the removal of the deceased from the community of the living by creating a physical barrier between the funeral entourage and the dead body[32]. Funeral pottery also satisfied the requirements of the living's social contract with the dead as made manifest in the funeral[33].

Northern shaft tombs and their ceramic corpora

There are two large clusters of shaft tombs within the Northern Cemetery (Fig. 2). The first is located at the

[27] G. A. Reisner, *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age: Naga-ed-Dêr. The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Dêr* III, Berkeley 1932, pp. 16–19. However, this cemetery does not provide evidence that all tombs had superstructures, as simple shaft tombs are also known at the site (pp. 20–21).

[28] These cliffs were not exploited as tomb locations until the New Kingdom: tombs 460, 462, 464–468, 476–477, 482–486, 488–489. There are a few Old Kingdom exceptions: notably, tombs 469 (discussed above), 470, and 481.

[29] This of course discounts the Far Western cemetery, which was in any case unused and perhaps, therefore, left unfinished.

[30] T. Rzeuska, *Saqqara* II, p. 430.

[31] For the use of ritual shafts in the funeral ritual, particularly the 'breaking of the red pots', see *ibid.*, pp. 509–511. For the 'breaking of the red pots' itself, see R. K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, Chicago 1993, pp. 144–153.

[32] For a discussion of the role of the funeral in the ongoing lives of the deceased's community and the agency of the living (additional to the traditional Egyptological focus on the empowering of the deceased), see M. Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, College Station 2008, pp. 24–25, 32–34.

[33] N. Laneri, *An Archaeology of Funerary Rituals*, in: N. Laneri (ed.), *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, Chicago 2007, pp. 4–5.

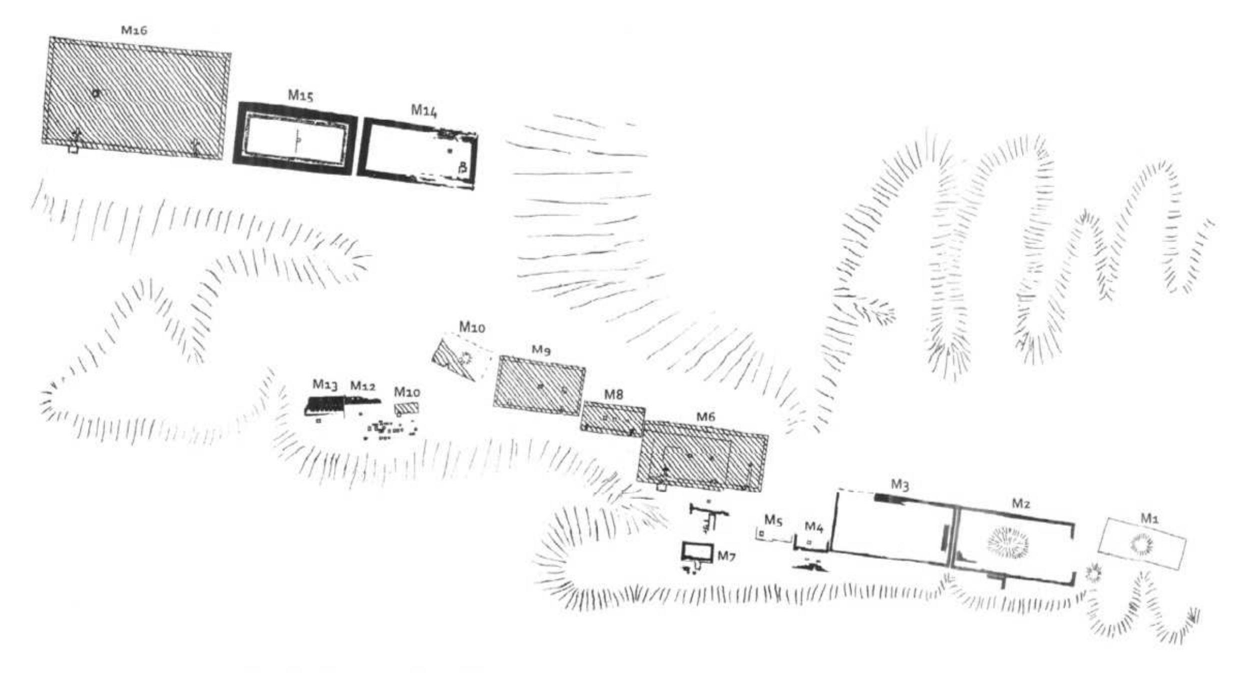


Fig. 3 PETRIE's plan of the Northern Cemetery (W. M. F. PETRIE, *Medum*, Pl. V)

north end of the cemetery, between M6, M7, and M4. ROWE excavated 41 shaft tombs in this area which he numbered 566–607 (with no tomb 592). For the most part these tombs are tightly grouped into a space 200 m in length, northwest to southeast. According to PETRIE's plans, this space should have been filled by M5. M5 was not discussed by ROWE and presumably could not be located at the time of his excavations. PETRIE had marked only the eastern wall of the mastaba in his plan, using a fine line which would seem to mark its presence as being uncertain (Fig. 3). Indeed, he discusses it in neither of his Meidum publications. The presence of so many shaft tombs in this area leads one to suspect that PETRIE might have been mistaken in his tracing of the walls of M5. The wall which he interpreted as one mastaba might in fact have been remnants of several smaller superstructures belonging to these many shafts. Additionally, neighboring M4 – almost completely denuded by the early 1930s – was either very small, allowing for shaft tombs to be built immediately to its south and west, or was also a misidentification of what were actually remnants of smaller superstructures belonging to shaft tombs.

The second area of shaft tombs is located immediately to the south of mastaba 393 and east of M14, M15, and M16. The gap between the otherwise linearly arranged mastabas is probably due to the size of M14–M16, which required that they be placed farther back from the plateau's edge in order to have enough space and support. The resultant empty space, measuring approximately 310 m north to south, was filled by fifty-three shaft tombs, numbered 390–449 (barring 395–396, 404, 415, 428–429, and 444). As these poorer tombs would have had small or nonexistent superstructures, they did not block the visibility of the larger elite mastabas, nor did they block access to any offering points along their eastern face. These two shaft tomb clusters took advantage of spaces which were effectively of no functional use to the elite and yet which were conceptually part of the elite zone.

Funeral pottery

Shaft tombs 446, 441, and 423, all in the southern group, and 469, located further northeast and outside of the two major shaft tomb clusters, provide the best examples of ceramic corpora from this class of tomb. The architecture of these shafts is simple: a shaft with a rectangular burial chamber off of the bottom of the shaft, each oriented differently (Fig. 4). The burial chambers in 423 and 446 were fully intact, still being blocked with a mudbrick wall when excavated. 469 included two intact burials in a flexed position, though the burial chamber's roof had fallen in at some point post-interment. Tomb cards from these excavations record the presence of 'model dishes'

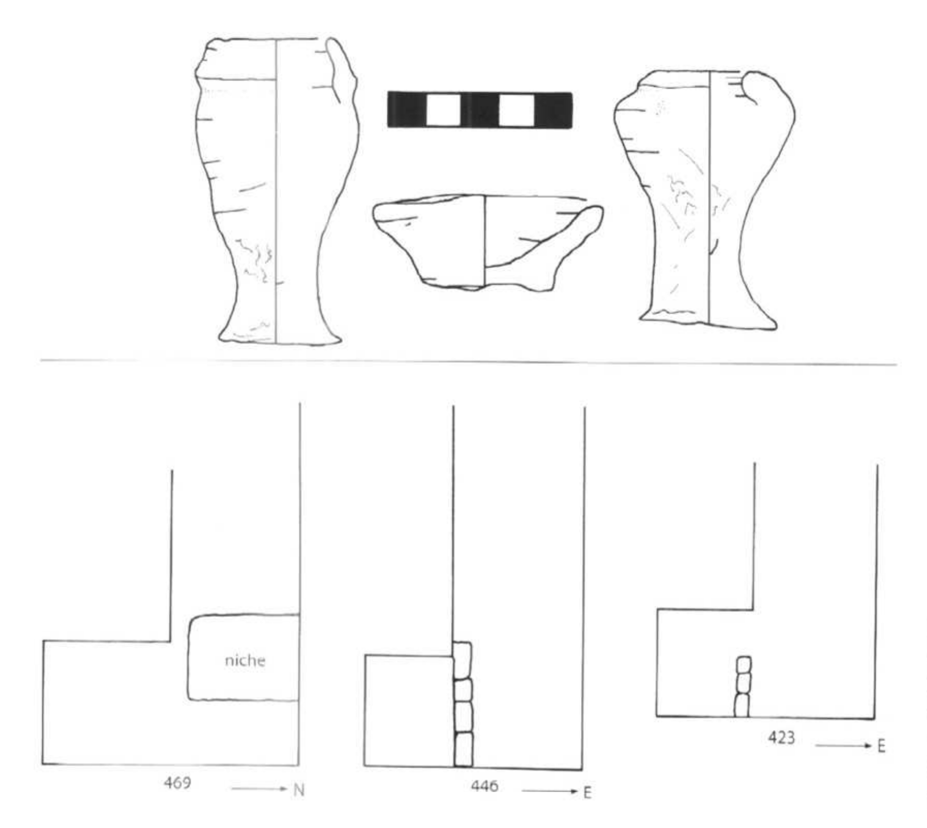


Fig. 4
Example of typical types of miniature vessels (drawings by author) and plans of shaft tombs 423, 446, 469 (not to scale, redrawn by author from tomb cards)

and 'model pots' throughout the shafts of each of these tombs[34] (Fig. 4). The miniature vessels' location was not the result of disturbance or tomb robbing. Instead, these vessels seem to have consistently been placed in shaft tomb fill, indicating that they were deposited by mourners during the funeral – specifically, during the sealing of the tomb. Looted tombs such as 576 and 578 also contained miniature vessels in the shaft which presumably were part of the original ceramic corpus[35]. Occasionally, the excavation records also note the appearance of 'water jar fragments' in the shaft fill[36]. 'Water jar' likely refers to the ubiquitous Old Kingdom beer jar, a common find in mastaba shafts of the Giza necropolis[37]. The funeral pottery of these shafts, however, is defined by miniature vessels.

The specific location of miniature vessels within the shaft fill was rarely indicated in the tomb cards, nor was the number of miniature vessels often recorded. The excavators noted them simply *en masse* as 'model dishes' or 'model pots'. This shorthand alone emphasizes the common nature of such finds. 'Model dishes' always denoted a small dish of coarse Nile clay, wheel made, no greater than 7 cm in rim diameter. In cross-referencing archival material with the vessels held by the Penn Museum, it is clear that the term 'model pot' was applied not to one form, but rather to a range of wheel-made jars, generally no greater than 9 cm height. Sometimes, these were hole-mouthed vessels; others (very) roughly resemble the *ḥs* jar, and still others had crude relationships to the beer jar. The tomb card of 446 gives some loca-

[34] The use of the term 'miniature vessel' in this paper rather than 'model vessel', as had been used by ROWE, follows SUSAN ALLEN's terminology: S. ALLEN, *Miniature and Model Vessels in Ancient Egypt*, in: M. BÁRTA (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004*, Prague 2006, pp. 21–22 (hereafter S. ALLEN, *Miniature and Model Vessels*). Miniature vessels cannot be seriated and do not exactly model full sized forms: S. ALLEN, *Miniature and Model Vessels*, p. 19; M. BÁRTA, *Pottery Inventory and the Beginning of the IVth Dynasty ("Multiplier Effect" in the IVth and the "Law of Diminishing Returns" in the VIth Dynasties)*, in: *GM* 14, 1995, p. 15 (hereafter M. BÁRTA, *Pottery Inventory*).

[35] Coxe Expedition tomb cards for 576 and 578, Meidum Box 17.

[36] The only shaft tomb in the Northern Cemetery with beer jar sherds as part of its fill was shaft 423: Coxe Expedition tomb card for 423, 27 Jan 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[37] G. A. REISNER/W. S. SMITH, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* 2. *The Tomb of Hetep-Heres the Mother of Cheops: A Study of Egyptian Civilization in the Old Kingdom*, Cambridge, MA 1955, p. 70 (hereafter G. A. REISNER/W. S. SMITH, *Giza Necropolis* II). Beer jars also appear in great quantity in some Dahshur mastaba shafts, in mastabas near the Red Pyramid: N. ALEXANIAN ET AL., *Die Residenznekropole von Dahschur. Zweiter Grabungbericht*, in: *MDAIK* 62, 2006, pp. 17–18, 21.

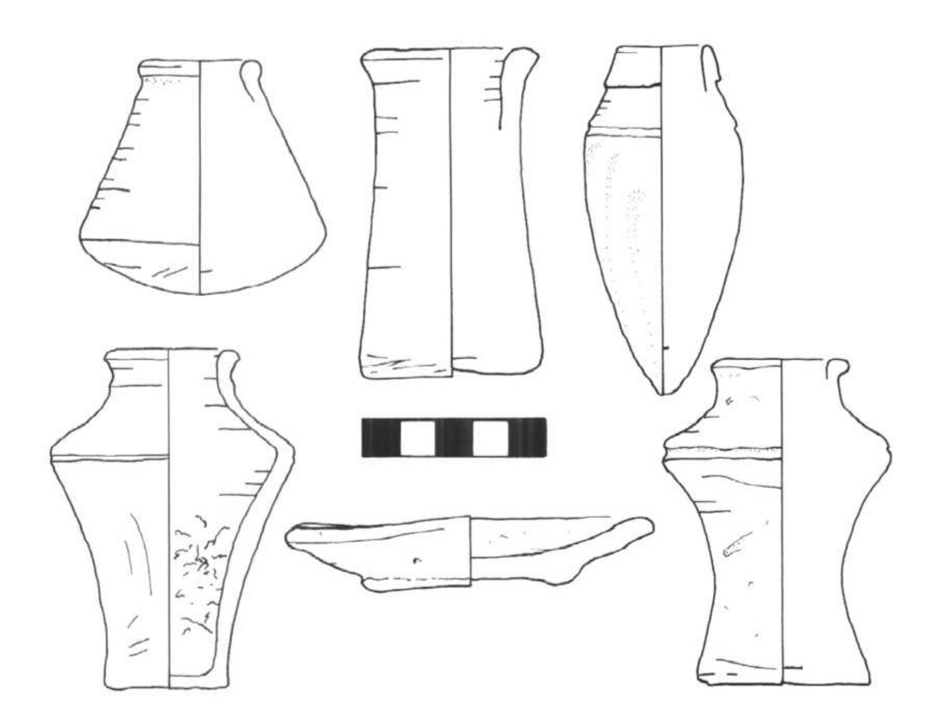


Fig. 5
Miniature vessels from shaft 469 (drawing by author)

tional information for select miniature vessels, noting that one miniature pot, nestled into a miniature dish, was deposited in a small niche in the shaft near the top of the wall blocking the burial chamber. Otherwise, the records for 446 note there were "(...) other model offering dishes (...) in the pit"[38].

Shaft 469 contained six miniature vessels which the excavators specifically recorded on object cards. These vessels, apparently found at different points in the excavation of the shaft, were sent back to the Penn Museum (Fig. 5)[39].

The forms of these vessels are different from that of the standard miniature corpus and their quality is much higher. The dish is broader than the normal 7 cm, its slightly convex base showing somewhat more effort on the part of the potter than the standard string-cut base. The cylindrical and bag shaped jars are miniaturized copies of full size forms found in pottery or stone[40]. This is a rare practice in miniature vessels though it has been noted in other Fourth Dynasty ceramics from other tomb shafts[41]. The unique nature of these vessels illustrates that variation existed within the miniature vessel corpus at the site; presumably, individuals could use higher quality goods when they chose and/or were able to do so. However, in terms of their function, the more unique forms appear to have been interchangeable with their more generic, lower quality counterparts. Carefully formed miniatures that copied the ever-changing trends of full sized vessels were the exception rather than the rule. The finer vessel must have served as very little more than a show. The specific provenience of the vessels further suggests that their aesthetic image might have played a part in the performance of the funeral.

The tomb card for shaft 469 notes on the first day of excavation: "Square pit cut in the rock. The filling consists of hard debris, among which are many IV Dyn. model off. pots (nearly all in frags). Some of the pots have a quite unusual shape."[42] These six vessels formed part of the final deposition, closest to the surface of the shaft, most visible to the members of the funeral cortege and bearing the final religious force of the shaft's closing. Yet the six unique miniature vessels were not the only miniature vessels found at this point in the shaft fill. They simply were the only ones 'interesting enough' to merit individual object cards. The untold number of other miniature vessels must have fallen into the more generic forms found throughout

[38] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 446, 30 Jan 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[39] UPM accession numbers 32-42-153 to 32-42-155, 31-28-143 to 31-28-145. Coxe Expedition object cards 31-2-111 to 31-2-113, 31-2-177 to 31-2-179(A), Meidum Box 18.

[40] S. Allen, *Miniature and Model Vessels*, p. 22.

[41] G. A. Reisner/W. S. Smith, *Giza Necropolis* II, Fig. 87. Parallels for bag shaped jar from tombs G2120 A, G4240 A, and G4440 A.

[42] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 469, 12 Feb 1931, Meidum Box 17.

the necropolis, as generally illustrated in Fig. 3. Unique miniature vessels were not required for the funeral ritual to have been valid.

Burial pottery

The shaft tombs had less burial pottery than funeral pottery. The burial pottery was generally composed of one vessel only, though the specific type of vessel varied. The vessel was of higher quality than the funeral pottery and was typically full sized. Shaft 423, whose burial chamber blocking had partially collapsed, contained a flexed burial, east facing, in a wooden coffin. The only element of burial equipment it contained was a single Meidum bowl (UPM 31-28-114) whose carination and comparatively long recurved rim date it to the Fourth Dynasty[43]. The burial chamber in 441 contained a red slipped ceramic ewer (UPM 31-28-115) besides the body. A similar ewer was found in tomb 326 in the southern cemetery (UPM 32-42-126; Fig. 6) where it had been placed with a dish of 12.5 cm diameter[44]. In these three tombs, the burial pottery did not aim to provide the deceased with food. Rather, each vessel seems more plausibly to represented a concern with purity and purification rituals in the afterlife. This is not true for all tombs. 446, whose burial was undisturbed and still fully blocked by a wall separating burial chamber from shaft, contained a flexed body but no vessels or other burial goods at all[45]. Shaft 469's burial chamber included two burials with only one miniature offering jar (perhaps as a purification token?).

It is difficult to discuss the pottery assemblages of the northern group of shafts because many of the tombs appear to have been disturbed, possibly due to looting. The Penn Museum Archives contain no object cards documenting finds from these tombs. Tomb cards for 576, 578, and 599 show the tombs to have contained no burials at the time of excavation, though 576 did contain some human bones scattered amongst the shaft fill, about 1.5 m from the shaft's mouth, and a miniature jar at the shaft's bottom[46]. 578 included no body in its burial chamber; the diversity of pottery (a miniature dish, a bowl, and Cypriot sherds) is indicative of looting. The architecture of the northern and southern group of shaft tombs is similarly simple. However, the examples of shaft tombs from the northern group include a bit more variety within the same basic rubric, having the burial chamber at either the south end (599), the north end (578), or having no burial chamber at all (576)[47].

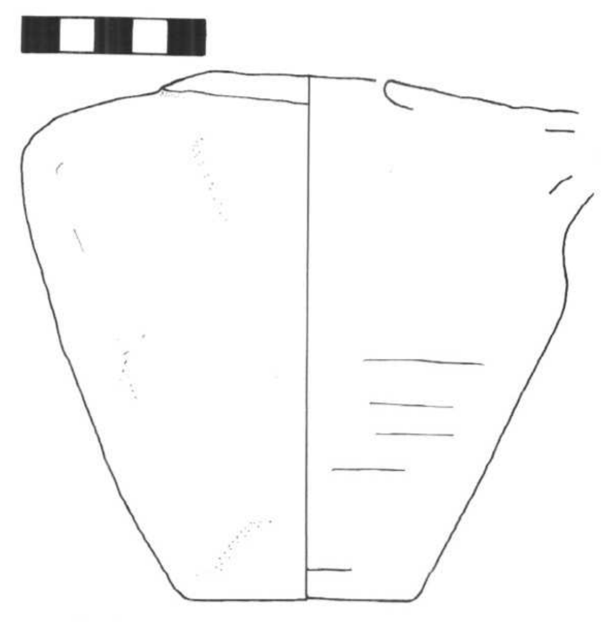


Fig. 6 Ewer from shaft 326 (drawing by author)

Northern mastabas and their ceramic corpora

The most thorough and best documented body of ceramics from a mastaba in the Northern Cemetery comes from M14 (renumbered as 552). Most of the other mastabas had been looted, subject to intrusive burials, or were simply not completely excavated[48]. The superstructure of M14 had been largely denuded by the time of the Coxe expedition. However, the excavators identified several of the shafts which belonged to it[49]. These included shafts 550, 552, 553,

[43] For find spot of this vessel: Coxe Expedition tomb card for 423, 27 Jan 1931, Meidum Box 17. For the dating of Meidum bowls, see L. Op de Beeck, in: *CCE* 7, 2004, pp. 254–257.

[44] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 441, 3 Feb 1931, Meidum Box 17; for UPM 32-42-126: Coxe Expedition object card 30-3-3, Meidum Box 18. Dish not held by the Penn Museum.

[45] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 446, 30 Jan 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[46] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 576, 29 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[47] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 599, 7 Dec 1931, Meidum Box 17; Coxe Expedition tomb card for 578, 30 Nov–1 Dec 1931, Meidum Box 17; Coxe Expedition tomb card for 576, 29–30 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[48] M3 was only partially excavated by the Coxe expedition. The burial shaft for M7 was never located. Only the southern shaft of M8 was excavated; it had been robbed.

[49] A. Rowe, *Meydûm* 4, p. 38.

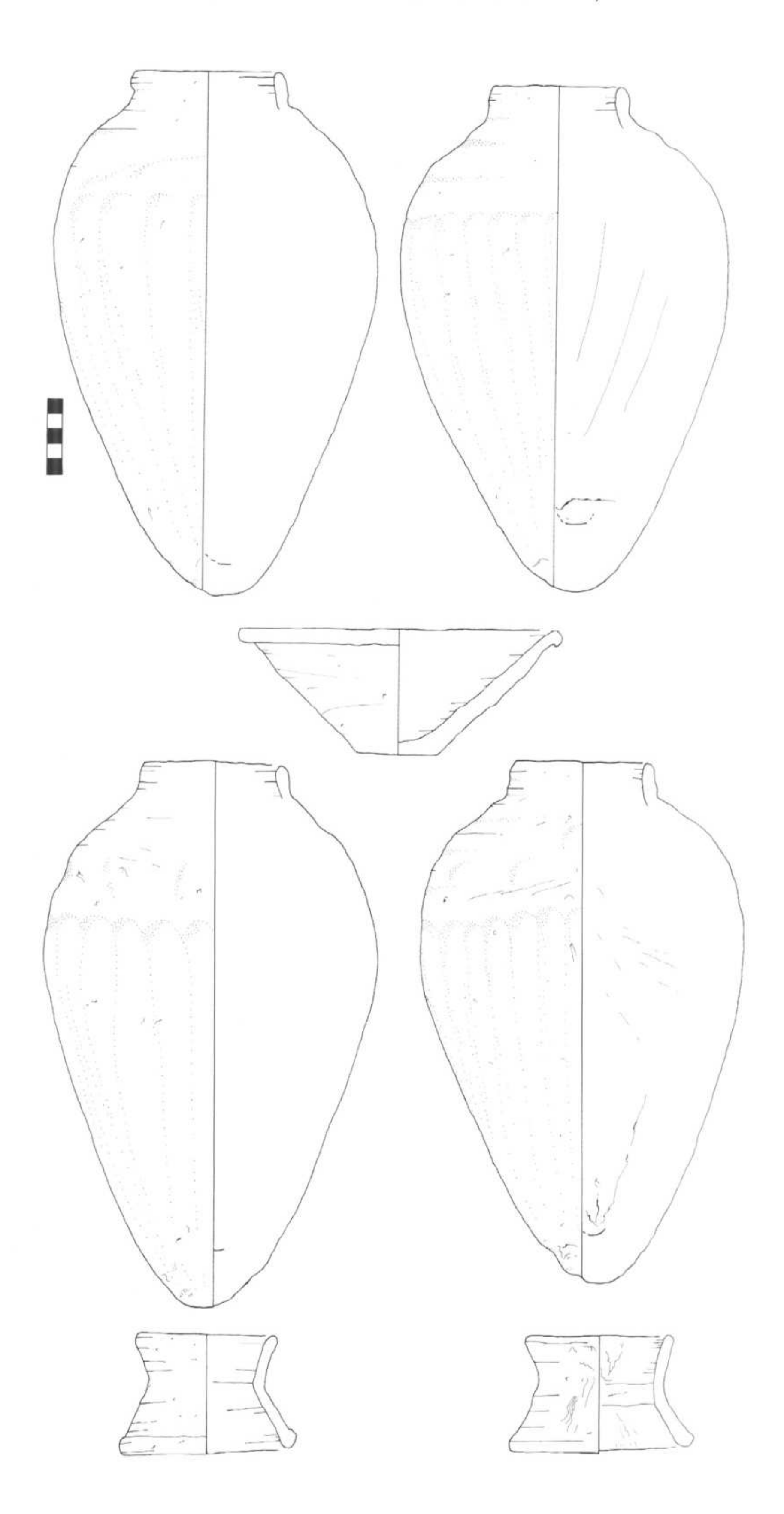


Fig. 7 Pottery from M14 Shaft 550 (drawing by author)

and 556[50]. Additional shafts 547 and 548 were later, intrusive burials. As the southern shaft, 552 would have likely belonged to the owner of the mastaba[51]. It seems to have been part of a trial excavation by PETRIE, though he did not discuss its contents[52]. ROWE (re-)excavated shaft 552 only to find that the burial chamber had been robbed and left open in antiquity[53]. 550, south of the main shaft, had no burial chamber and was just a brick lined pit 3.9 m deep. Shaft 550 resembles ritual shafts known in the late Old Kingdom: a simple shaft without a burial chamber but still containing artifacts. Sixth Dynasty ritual shafts contained red slipped pottery, with a dominance of carinated bowls, Meidum bowls, bowls with spouts, plates/dishes, basins, and occasional small jars[54]. Further, the vessels are often broken but easily reassembled, meaning they were broken on the spot. The parallel with the Breaking of the Red Pots is clear[55].

The vessels of shaft 550 do not match the ceramic assemblages common to such Sixth Dynasty contexts. Its vessels are neither red nor broken. Instead, the shaft contained a deposit of twelve intact ceramics: four jars, three conical bowls, two dishes, two ring stands, and one miniature dish[56]. The Penn Museum currently holds eight of these vessels (UPM 32-42-249 to 32-42-255: Fig. 7). Almost all of these vessels of shaft 550 were full sized and date to the Fourth Dynasty, and the deposit is evenly divided between jars (and their accoutrement) and open forms.

The four jars are of A. WODZIŃSKA's type AB1, commonly found at Heit el-Ghurab and dated to the Fourth Dynasty[57]. All four are cream slipped. The one bowl held by the Penn Museum (UPM 32-42-255) is red slipped on both interior and exterior. The object cards from this shaft note that the other two bowls (plus fragments) of the same form were similarly red slipped[58]. The stands are unslipped. The ceramic corpora of this shaft and Sixth Dynasty ritual shafts is thus quite different. Yet as shaft 550 lacked a burial chamber and the deposit of pottery was clearly intentional, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the deposit had some sort of ritual nature. Perhaps at Meidum in this early part of the Old Kingdom, ritual shafts were not yet associated with the Breaking of the Red Pots but were rather used as an occasional embellishment for the elite funeral. As shaft 550's deposit would have been a one-time occurrence it fits into the rubric of funeral pottery, suggesting an elite elaboration to the funeral not accessible to the lower classes. Additional ritual/offering activities seem to have occurred at the top of the mastaba during the early Old Kingdom at Meidum, such as the appearance of offering pits at the top of M17[59], perhaps also for use during the funeral.

Unlike shaft 550, shafts 551 and 553 each had a burial chamber. Due to their location at the north end of the mastaba, they were possibly intended for the tomb owner's wife or other dependents[60]. The funeral pottery corpus found in M14's shafts is much more numerous than found in the simple shaft burials. Shaft 551 included miniature offering dishes and miniature *ḥs* vessels in its upper portion; the specific number of each is unrecorded[61]. Additional miniature dishes and miniature *ḥs* vessels, together with "frags of vases (burnished red ware, black in the centre of section)" were located further down in the shaft, immediately in front of the upper portion of the burial chamber's blocking[62]. The precise form of the 'vases' is not noted. Locations for the funeral pottery from shaft 553 were recorded in more detail. Pottery was found at five points in the shaft. Close to the mouth of the shaft an offering table made of pottery, fragments of several other offering tables, miniature dishes, and miniature jars[63] were found. 1.5 m from the top, "sev-

[50] 556 was found robbed and entirely devoid of artifacts; as a result, it is difficult to date clearly. It seems probable that this shaft was original to M14. Coxe Expedition tomb card for 556, 6, 8 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[51] The equation of south shaft with tomb owner/husband and northern shaft(s) with wife/dependent is somewhat simplistic; while generally true, the location and ownership of mastaba shafts seems to have experienced a reorganization in the early Fourth Dynasty. Definite attribution of ownership can only be made with inscriptional evidence or a body. P. JÁNOSI, *Aspects of Mastaba Development. The Position of Shafts and the Identification of Tomb Owners*, in: *Archiv Orientální* 70 no. 3, 2002, pp. 338–344.

[52] W. M. F. PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 20.

[53] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 552, 11 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[54] T. RZEUSKA, *Saqqara* II, Pls. 188–192, Pls. 194–197.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 509–511.

[56] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 550, 2–3 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[57] A. WODZIŃSKA, *The Ancient Egypt Research Associates Settlement Site at Giza. The Old Kingdom Ceramic Distribution*, in: N. STRUDWICK/H. STRUDWICK (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology, 2750–2150 BC*, Oxford 2011, Fig. 11.

[58] Coxe Expedition object card 31-11-8, Meidum Box 18.

[59] A. ROWE, *Meydûm* 3, pp. 9, 22–24; Coxe Expedition tomb card for M17 top, 11–28 Dec 1930, Meidum Box 17.

[60] See note 51.

[61] *ḥs* is the excavator's terminology: these vessels are not held by the Penn Museum and their form could not be verified. Handwriting on the cards makes it clear that several different individuals were part of the recording process, and this specific terminology appears to have been idiosyncratic to one individual.

[62] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 551, 3–4 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[63] These were identified as 'model pots' by the Coxe expedition, but are presented as miniature jars here to avoid confusion between the terms model and miniature. The documentation does not allow us to identify what specific jar forms were used.

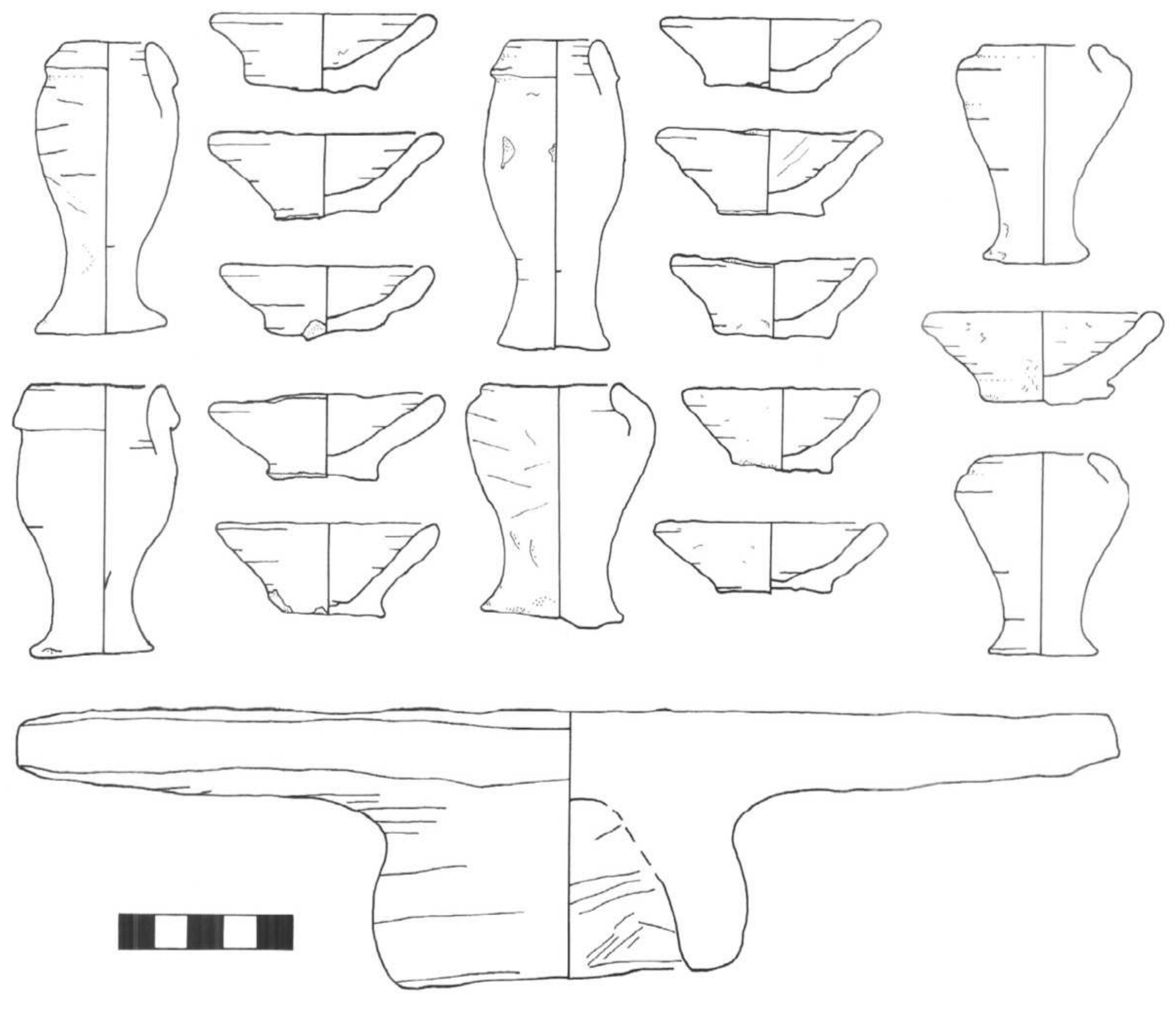


Fig. 8 Pottery from M14 Shaft 553 (drawing by author)

eral" miniature dishes and jars were found. More beer jar fragments were located 2 m from the top. Before the blocking of the burial chamber, 3.5 m below the surface, miniature vessels and fragments of beer jars had been deposited. At the very bottom of the shaft – a point which is lower than the bottom of the burial chamber – rested more beer jar fragments[64].

Though the number of vessels was not explicitly recorded on the tomb card, many of them are now held by the Penn Museum; between its holdings and the object cards it is possible to tentatively reconstruct the full assemblage for this shaft (Fig. 8). In addition to the complete offering table (UPM 32-42-264) and the fragments of several others, the shaft included at least 57 miniature dishes, 48 now held in the Penn Museum (UPM 32-42-265 to 312); three miniature hole mouthed jars (UPM 32-42-316 to 32-42-314); six miniature collared jars (UPM 32-42-313 to 32-42-315 and 32-42-319 to 32-42-321); three miniature jars (not in the Penn Museum; grouped under field number 31-11-25); and at least three beer jars. In this case the beer jars were lowest, closest to the deceased, and had been deposited before most of the miniature vessels or the offering table – suggesting at least two distinct phases of funerary ritual. Though the vessels are of the same types as found in the funeral assemblage of shaft tombs, the sheer number of vessels as well as the introduction of offering furniture (via the offering tables) mark this individual and their funeral as being of a different, higher, class than the owners of shafts 423, 446, and 469.

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64 Coxe Expedition tomb card for 553, 3–5 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17.

The burial pottery from M14's shafts was minimal, though it is possible that 552 had contained a more elaborate assemblage[65]. In 553, the burial chamber contained a contracted burial in a wooden coffin. The chamber was still walled off from the shaft and the burial chamber was not disturbed, yet the chamber included no burial pottery. Shaft 551's burial chamber was located on the west side of the shaft, 5 m from the surface. It was found with its blocking intact and with a contracted burial in a wooden coffin, though its ceiling had collapsed. With the coffin were a miniature dish and some beer jar sherds[66]. The beer jar(s) might have been broken upon deposit or they might have shattered when portions of the ceiling fell – the excavation notes are silent on this point. The amount of burial pottery found in these chambers falls in the range of burial pottery found in the shaft burials. However, the use of beer jars is unknown in the shaft tombs' burial pottery. It is unclear if this variation is due to the preservation of the evidence or the quality of the notes. Certainly, beer jars appear in shaft burials, though in the funeral pottery corpus rather than part of the burial pottery.

The most substantial difference in the ceramic corpora of mastabas and shaft tombs is the presence of cult pottery. The need for the elite cult would have been one of the prime motivators behind the building of the substantial mastaba superstructure. The cult of elite mastaba owners memorialized them long after their death in a manner totally unavailable to those buried in shaft tombs. Cultic pottery is the material marker of these practices and thus serves to further mark the status of mastaba owners as being greater than those who owned far smaller tombs. The ongoing nature of the cult means that cultic contexts were rarely truly 'closed'. The ceramics recovered in offering installations are therefore unlikely to represent the complete range or size of cult practices. Most of the offering places in the Meidum mastabas were simple niches in the eastern façade of the mastaba, some having external courtyards surrounding the niche(s). Unfortunately, the superstructure of M14 had been largely denuded by the time of ROWE's excavation, so we must turn to other mastaba as for examples. M8, belonging to *zꜣ nswt Nỉ-ḥp*, had three niches in its eastern face, though only the northern and southern niche were preserved at the time of excavation. Both niches had been plastered white. The southern niche had an external court attached to it. In front of the northern niche, excavations uncovered a bull's head and broken "IV Dyn pots"[67]. Debris from the cult stretched out to the east of the mastaba, littering the areas in front of the mastaba, including *bḏꜣ* moulds (identified by the excavators as 'flower pots') and "a flat loaf of ancient bread". Additional debris noted as being against the eastern face of the mastaba yielded miniature dishes and "various pottery frags". Though the types of vessels are not all clearly recorded, the appearance of bread and bread moulds together with the common miniature vessels suggests that the cultic pottery here concentrated on nourishment of the deceased[68].

M17 and its ceramic corpora: expanding the elite cultic corpus

The ceramic corpora of M17 provides a comparative corpora from an elite mastaba context in the Southern Cemetery. PETRIE began work at this mastaba and published elements of the tomb in both *Medum* and *Meydum and Memphis* III[69]; however, he did not fully excavate it. The Coxe expedition returned to M17 in 1931. The excavations were to have been the sole focus of the third article on Meidum, written in 1932 but never published[70]. Though outside of the Northern Cemetery, as the largest and oldest mastaba at Meidum it provides a window into how expansive an elite body of ceramics could be at this site[71]. Pottery was found everywhere. The general mastaba fill, for example, contained occasional beer jars, shallow bowls with spouts, and *bḏꜣ* moulds[72]. WAINWRIGHT attributed the deposition of beer jars and bread moulds in the general fill of the mastaba to the workmen. The

[65] When excavating the shaft of 552, the Coxe Expedition noted numerous 'model offering pots' and, in smaller numbers, 'water jar fragments' (likely to be identified as beer jars) and 'IV Dyn pottery – thin red ware'. 'A jar of drab colored ware', 'a conical pot of crude ware' (likely meaning a *bḏꜣ* mould), and 'a flat dish of burnished red ware' were specifically noted towards the top of the shaft. However, as the burial chamber was robbed it is unclear if these vessels were part of the original fill or instead been part of the burial equipment. As we cannot distinguish whether this is a burial or funeral corpus, these vessels will not be included in our discussion. Coxe Expedition tomb card for 552, 3–11 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[66] Coxe Expedition tomb card for 551, 4 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[67] Coxe Expedition tomb card for M8, 9 Feb 1931, Meidum Box 17.

[68] As at West Saqqara: T. RZEUSKA, *Saqqara* II, pp. 512–515.

[69] W. M. F. PETRIE, *Medum*, pp. 11–14; W. M. F. PETRIE/E. MACKAY/G. WAINWRIGHT, *Meydum*, pp. 13–18.

[70] A. ROWE, *Meydûm* 3.

[71] This brief article cannot serve for a full accounting or analysis of M17's complex excavation history and finds.

[72] W. M. F. PETRIE/E. MACKAY/G. WAINWRIGHT, *Meydum*, p. 13; A. ROWE, *Meydûm* 3, p. 24.

role of bread and beer as payment-in-kind for labor indeed makes it very likely that these vessels were intentional additions, signs from the workmen that they had been paid appropriately by the deceased and their relationship had been conducted in good faith[73].

Identifying funeral pottery from this tomb is difficult. The burial of M17 was discovered plundered, only the large red granite sarcophagus remaining[74]. There was no shaft, the burial chamber instead being a totally self-contained entity with no point of access to the outside world. The tomb owner therefore must have died and been interred before the mastaba body was completed[75]. Neither PETRIE nor the Coxe expedition were able to identify other Old Kingdom burial shafts within the mastaba body[76]. The absence of a shaft or additional burial place opens up the possibility that the beer jars and bread moulds in the general fill actually played the role of funeral pottery in addition to being a sign of the beneficence of the deceased through proper satisfaction of his accounts. A 1 m deep deposit of ashes below the mud flooring coating the entry to the chapel suggests a burnt offering of meat formed a part of the mortuary ritual at this tomb, though it is difficult to say if this activity would have taken place with the foundation of the chapel, during the funeral, or during later cult[77].

M17 demonstrates just how large an elite cultic ceramic assemblage could be. Large amounts of pottery were found in installations on top of the mastaba, debris around the exterior walls of the mastaba, the northern niche, and the modified cruciform chapel at the south[78]. The southern offering niche contained a Meidum bowl, 238 miniature dishes, fragments of a flat offering dish, and six miniature offering jars of various forms[79]. An additional 460 miniature dishes and 29 miniature jars were deposited nearby[80]. Cultic pottery from offering installations on the top of the mastaba included a coarse ware bowl, pointed jars, *bḏ3* moulds, a miniature dish, and bowls with spouts[81]. Excavations along the exterior faces of the mastaba further yielded large amounts of Fourth Dynasty pottery in debris along the mastaba's face. Excavations along the mastaba's eastern face alone, which would have been the focal point for visitors to the necropolis, uncovered 225 miniature offering dishes of slightly variable styles as well as one full size jar and two full size shallow bowls[82]. It is likely that these deposits identified outside of the mastaba represent the detritus of offering activities. Further cultic debris was found around the adjacent pyramid enclosure wall, including at least 24 miniature pots (UPM 31-27-411 to 31-27-433). These vessels are overwhelmingly miniature dishes and miniature *ḥs*-style vessels. Other vessels, such as bowls and *bḏ3* moulds, were discovered in smaller amounts; their precise forms are, unfortunately, largely impossible to verify today. The cultic assemblage of M17 is thus stunning in quantity, though in contents the deposits simply echo and magnify the cultic deposits found in M8 in the Northern Cemetery. Unquestionably, the cult was focused upon the deposit and dedication of miniature vessels for the deceased, but with full sized vessels in smaller amounts to provide food and, perhaps, purification.

The burial chamber as discovered by PETRIE's team contained burial pottery which tomb robbers had scattered throughout the chamber, including six large jars: four slender jars with narrow necks and two spherical jars[83]. One additional jar, similar in form to the slender jars but larger in both height and maximum diameter, was also found[84]. These vessels represent the richest group of burial pottery documented for Meidum private tombs. These vessels would have functioned to hold food for the deceased; the elite status of the tomb owner of M17 allowed him more vessels, meaning increased access to foodstuffs. The ceramic assemblage expresses status differentiation within the elite class, suggesting that the Egyptian hierarchy was complex and, perhaps, individualized even at its highest levels.

[73] V. CHAUVET, *Considering the Role of Craftsmen in Funerary Practices*, paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Dallas, TX, April 2009.

[74] W. M. F. PETRIE/E. MACKAY/G. WAINWRIGHT, *Meydum*, pp. 4, 14–16.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[76] This was certainly not for lack of trying – see A. ROWE, *Meydûm* 3, pp. 21, 29–30.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

[78] Cruciform chapels are otherwise unknown at Meidum: G. A. REISNER, *Tomb Development*, pp. 278–281.

[79] Coxe Expedition object cards 29-12-224, 29-12-226, 29-12-227, 30-1-126, 30-1-127, 30-1-128, 30-1-129, Meidum Box 18; object numbers 30-1 to 12, nos. 30-1-126 to 129; Meydum object register box.

[80] Meydum object register 1930; object numbers 30-1 to 12, nos. 30-1-317 and -318; Meydum object register box.

[81] Coxe Expedition tomb card for M17 top, 13 Dec 1930, Meidum Box 17.

[82] Meydum object register 1930; object numbers 30-1 to 12, nos. 30-1-123 to -125b, 30-1-160 to -163; Meydum object register box.

[83] For original drawings, see W. M. F. PETRIE/E. MACKAY/G. WAINWRIGHT, *Meydum*, Fig. xxvi, no. 76, 77, 79–81.

[84] *Ibid.*, Fig. xxvi, no. 78.

Understanding pottery in the Meidum cemetery

Cultic pottery, for private tombs only documented in elite mastabas, appears to have been dominated by miniature vessels, with various full sized forms employed occasionally. M17 shows that the number of vessels employed for a cult could be very large. Whether this indicates the scale of offering ritual or the duration of the cult of the deceased is an open question. The cult of the elite individual at Meidum could have continued past the Fourth Dynasty. Miniature vessels were still used in the Fifth Dynasty, as seen at the Mortuary Temple of Neferefre[85], and likely functioned throughout the Old Kingdom. No cultic pottery was found associated with the shaft tombs. If the shafts had been topped with superstructures, they would have been small and easily obstructed or 'lost' within the landscape. Though a small amount of cult pottery might have once been associated with them, shaft tombs were poor focal points for long-term cultic practices or an extensive corpus of cult pottery.

On the whole, the funeral and burial ceramic assemblages of mastaba tombs and shaft tombs are remarkably similar. Miniature vessels, particularly miniature dishes, dominated the funeral pottery of both shaft and mastaba tombs at Meidum[86]. Beer jars were a common, though less frequent addition to this corpus, though they were almost always fragmentary. In several instances, some of the miniature vessels, too, were broken. As several of these tombs were intact, these vessels' poor preservation cannot be attributed to disturbance or tomb robbing. Rather, their state indicates that the vessels were not gently placed in the fill but were likely dropped, sometimes as far as several meters. This was not a careful activity and the placement of the vessels was not specific – instead, they were left to mingle with the limestone chips constituting the fill. These were tokens of the funeral itself and not first and foremost surrogate foods for the deceased. This is different than funeral pottery of the Sixth Dynasty as known at West Saqqara, when the shaft fill is actually dominated by beer jars, bread moulds, and bread trays, and miniature vessels are seldom used[87]. The funeral ceramic corpus differs, too, from that of Fourth/Fifth Dynasty mastabas near the Red Pyramid, where shafts are filled with beer jars, bread moulds, miniature vessels, and other forms[88].

Miniature vessels first appear in the Fourth Dynasty during the reign of Snefru and are the first evidence of wheel use in the manufacture of pottery[89]. M. Bárta has suggested that Snefru introduced this type of vessel as his extreme pyramid building required the state to limit cultic activity of the elite classes in order to curtail expenditures. In this scenario, the miniature vessel was born to serve in the steed of full sized vessels and food offerings, thus saving state funds[90]. They would have been a conscious, pragmatic, economizing strategy. However, there is no reason to assume that private cult would have been reliant upon the royal purse. The royal house did not dictate all private economic activities. Indeed, there is evidence of elite individuals endowing their own mortuary priests from at least the Fifth Dynasty[91]. Private individuals owned land as early as the Fourth Dynasty[92]. The need to economize also does not explain the use of miniature vessels in the funeral across class lines. The fact that miniature vessels allow for repeated offerings to be 'cheap'[93], though true from a modern perspective, is not a full understanding of their role. The miniature vessels were closely, perhaps irrevocably, linked to ritual activity. If miniature vessels were further directly equated to ritual activity and efficacy, the practice of the ritual itself would have eclipsed any economizing strategies in importance[94].

Miniature vessels appear in tandem with Snefru's establishment of the Meidum necropolis. Meidum

[85] M. Bárta, *The Pottery*, in: M. Verner (ed.), *Abusir* IX. *The Pyramid Complex of Reneferef*, Prague 2006, pp. 297–300.

[86] A similar distribution of miniature vessels was found in the tomb of Netjeraperef (Dahshur, Mastaba II/1), dating to the early Fourth Dynasty. However, miniature vessels were also found within the burial chamber in some number, which does not occur in the Meidum tombs. N. Alexanian, *Dahschur* II. *Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperef. Die Mastaba II/1 in Dahschur*, *AV* 56, Mainz 1999, pp. 104–105, 110–112, 154–155. A large number of vessels, including miniature vessels, were also found at the bottom of the shaft, before the burial chamber, interpreted as a final funeral feast: N. Alexanian, *Die Mastabagräber des Alten Reiches in Dahschur*, in: G. Dreyer/D. Polz (Hrsg.), *Begegnung mit der Vergangenheit. 100 Jahre in Ägypten. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo 1907–2007*, Mainz 2007, pp. 166–167.

[87] T. Rzeuska, *Saqqara* II, pp. 451, 455–458, 465, 468.

[88] N. Alexanian et al., in: *MDAIK* 62, 2006, pp. 21–25.

[89] M. Bárta, *Pottery Inventory*, p. 16.

[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.

[91] Fifth Dynasty Decree of Penmeru: Giza G2197. See also the biography of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, who specify rules for their *kꜣ* priests: N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, Atlanta 2005, pp. 194, 200–201, H. Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, Vienna 1970, pp. 68–74.

[92] Biography of Metjen, Saqqara: N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, Atlanta 2005, pp. 192–194.

[93] S. Allen, *Miniature and Model Vessels*, p. 23.

[94] See C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, Oxford 1992, p. 87.

was the first of the great royal necropoleis to include contemporary private tombs. The structure of monuments at the site reinforces a worldview as the Fourth Dynasty pharaoh himself must have idealized it: pharaoh's pyramid loomed large over the mastabas of his variously ranked elites, the presence of others minimal in the landscape. Previous to this, from the Early Dynastic Period through to the Third Dynasty, cemeteries had been organized at least in part by class, with royal burials of the First and end of the Second Dynasties being located at Abydos while contemporary non-royal tombs were built elsewhere, including elaborate elite tombs at Saqqara and lesser elite tombs at Helwan[95]. Private people were buried segregated by rank and interred away from the king. Provincial cemeteries such as Naga ed-Deir suggest that non-royal individuals focused on tomb organization by family group, at least when interred in a local, rather than Memphite, context[96]. The introduction of a new type of royal necropolis at Meidum physically merged individuals of all ranks, allowing for normal Egyptian social structures of relationships between classes to be expressed in what we might otherwise want to interpret simply as the royal sphere. This new organization must have encouraged a new understanding of the relationship of the afterlives of the king and the elite; shared location opens the possibility of shared afterlives or at least shared religious vision. Ritual, too, must have been impacted.

I suggest that the widespread use of miniature vessels indicates a unification in funeral and cultic rituals at the royal necropolis that impacted individuals of all statuses. At Meidum, the new miniature pots – unknown at provincial cemeteries of similar date[97] – define cultic and funeral pottery. Wheel manufacture, as a major technological innovation, was relatively unknown in the early Fourth Dynasty and thus at this early period could have been a restricted technology. Certainly, as a new technology there would have been a learning curve associated with its adoption by potters, perhaps meaning use of the wheel was limited during its first introduction to specific potters or to manufacturing for specific groups. Miniatures were used for royal worship in pyramid temples[98]; the members of the royal family and royal bureaucracy, too, used miniatures in their cultic assemblages. More strikingly, whenever an individual was buried at Meidum miniature vessels were always used in their funeral pottery and even appear, if less frequently, in their burial pottery. It is impossible to know if this unification of funeral ritual would have expanded to include the king, as not one of the pyramids of Snefru contained an intact burial chamber or corridor blocking. However, the presence of miniature vessels in the burial of Queen Hetepheres, Snefru's wife, at Giza, is strongly suggestive that even intimate members of the royal house partook of this unified ritual[99]. Ceramic assemblages in different status tombs are defined not by the quality of product, for all tomb owners had access to the same vessels. However, status could be expressed through elaboration of the number of ritual contexts within the tomb and, to some extent, the number of pots used within those contexts. Higher status individuals possessed greater cults than those below them on the social hierarchy, having more ceramics and a great number of deposits.

Yet if miniatures in a cultic context could be argued to stand in for foodstuffs, it is unlikely that this was the case for those miniatures which appear in a funeral context. They were generally deposited too high in the shaft and in too haphazard a manner to have served as conscious dedications of food. Miniature vessels must have had a greater representative value, a meaning outside of simple food offerings. They must have been deposited by the mourners – possibly priests, possibly family or community members – in the process of closing the burial shaft. This is the moment in which the deceased is truly, permanently removed from the world of the living. The miniature vessels thus provide a block between the spirit of the dead and the living, acting as appeasement to the soul if it tried to depart the tomb to rejoin – or harass – the living. These vessels then helped to contain the deceased in the segregated space of the cemetery. They further severed the connection of the living to the deceased, fulfilling the living's final obligation to a former member of their community. As tokens, these could have been deposited by mourners in order to both symbolize and enact this removal. The Meidum tombs show no consistency in the exact location of miniature vessels within different burial shafts, for consistency would not have

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95 PM III.2, pp. 435–448.

96 G. A. Reisner, *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age: Naga-ed-Dêr, The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Dêr* III, Berkeley 1932, pp. 181, 186–189.

97 See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 75–98.

98 W. K. Simpson, *Corpus of the Dahshur Pottery*, in: A. Fakhry (ed.), *The Monuments of Snefru at Dahshur* II. *The Finds*, Cairo 1961, pp. 135–136.

99 G. A. Reisner/W. S. Smith, *Giza Necropolis* II, p. 94, Figs. 75 and 79.

been necessary – every funeral provided for a new performance and a new reconstruction of the social fabric[100]. Though the miniature vessels provided a core for the funeral, this should not be extended to mean each funeral was a carbon copy.

The small size of the miniature vessels was in part an issue of practicality. Being small and easy to carry, miniature vessels could be carried by mourners during the funeral procession or could have been immediately available at the graveside. The vessels are all made out of Nile Silt, which as a raw material would have had to come from the Nile Valley. The smaller the size, the more practical to transport the vessels from the valley into the cemetery in any number. The small size also allows for quantity of funeral tokens over quality. The sheer number of miniatures found in the mastaba shafts (such as M14) suggests that increased rank was perhaps provided for a funeral defined by a larger amount of this pottery, though as the records from shaft tombs of the Coxe expedition unfortunately provide no numbers this suggestion cannot be fully verified. But practicality aside, the value of these objects rests on two aspects: first, their symbolic shape, and second, the performance of the funeral and the social integration (within the living, across the social hierarchies of the dead) which they enable. The funeral created the symbolic meaning of the vessels[101].

The use of miniature vessels across socioeconomic classes should not encourage interpretation of this type of pottery as 'unimportant'. Rather one should see them as 'basic', in the sense of being fundamental. They appeared consistently in funeral pottery. Of the three types of ceramic corpora we have investigated, only funeral pottery was definitely employed for every individual, suggesting that this specific ritual was necessary for all Egyptians and had some consistency across class lines. While the structure of the Northern Cemetery suggests that the provincial cemetery models were now being embraced in royal necropoleis, the use of the otherwise unknown miniatures served to 'mark' all of the burials as belonging to a restricted community and an exclusive social sphere.

The funeral could be elaborated for the elite with the addition of other rituals, as suggested by the presence of a ritual shaft 550 in M14. Flints and shells could augment the funeral corpus of some elite mastabas but are undocumented for the shaft tombs[102]. Miniature vessels, on the other hand, define the assemblages and point to a unified, conservative view of funerary ritual as practiced by the ancient Egyptians at Meidum. Pottery, being a modest good accessible to all, formed a core, fundamental aspect of Egyptian funerary activity. All individuals had a funeral with at least a small array of miniature vessels. Occasionally, beer jars were deposited in the tomb shaft first (typically breaking in the process). A smaller number of tombs, both shaft and mastaba, included burial pottery of one or two vessels, typically jars or ablution vessels like ewers or Meidum bowls. Miniature vessels, beer jars, and ablution vessels were fundamental to the material culture of the community of Meidum tomb owners. Ceramics above and beyond this core, or the addition of cultic pottery, marked an individual's increased status.

The limited amount of burial pottery found in tombs at Meidum and the nature of funeral pottery deposits suggests that Old Kingdom individuals at this site were buried without a wide array of provisions and that food or food access was not the focal point of the either funeral or the burial[103]. The heart of the burial and funeral ritual rather focused on providing the deceased with only the most basic of provisions or purification. Yet contemporary offering lists from mastabas suggest that elite tomb owners expected access to a wide array of foodstuffs in the afterlife, in direct contrast to their burial pottery[104]. The major provisions desired by the elite must have been attained through the funerary cult itself, thus explaining the mass amounts of offering points found at the mastabas. However, this clearly left the owners of shaft tombs without ongoing subsistence, leaving their spirits eternally 'hungry'.

The owners of the shaft tombs

The elite of Meidum, though employing a generic set of ceramics in their interments, would have been

100 E. L. SCHIEFFELIN, *Problematizing Performance*, in: F. HUGHES-FREELAND (ed.), *Ritual, Performance, Media*, London 1998, pp. 198–199.

101 E. L. SCHIEFFELIN, *Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality*, in: *American Ethnologist* 12 no. 4, 1985, pp. 721–722.

102 Shaft 549, from M14, had shell in the shaft: Coxe Expedition tomb card for 549, 4 Nov 1931, Meidum Box 17. Flints and shells are documented in the shafts of M8 and appear in elite burial shafts as late as the Sixth Dynasty: W. M. F. PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 18; T. RZEUSKA, *Saqqara* II, pp. 486–487.

103 The elite certainly could have had finer and richer burial goods, such as stone vessels; some of these might have included foodstuffs. However, it is equally possible they included non-food luxuries, such as oils.

104 W. BARTA, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, Berlin 1963, pp. 40–41, examples pp. 26–40.


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marked as upper-class through other mechanisms. The few titles known for mastaba tomb owners at Meidum show that many of the tomb owners were closely tied to the royal house[105]. They had access to mummification[106], and their mummies could be deposited in stone sarcophagi[107]. The evidence of looting of their burial chambers suggests that the burials must have contained some goods of value in addition to the core body of pottery. Of course, the most obvious – and most effective – marker of status was the mastaba structure itself, which would have been ostentatious enough in the otherwise barren landscape of Meidum to make up for any austerity within the funeral and funeral procession.

The shaft tombs at this site, on the other hand, include no names or prosopographic identification. Their funeral rituals appear to have been the same as those of the elite mastaba owners, though perhaps at a smaller scale. Their funeral employed the same corps of pottery and involved the same practices of deposition to signal the removal of the deceased from the community of the living. The similarity of these practices marked the owners of the shaft tombs as 'belonging' in the Meidum cemetery. Their role in the community is further reinforced through the location of their burials. These shaft tombs do not appear around the pyramid nor in their own distinct subcemetery within the necropolis. Rather, they clustered in the Northern Cemetery to exploit the locations of mastabas. The elite mastabas, not the pyramid, served to define the organization of the shaft burials. For the shaft tombs, the mastabas would have been the most proximate, most important, and most culturally accessible monuments.

While shaft tomb owners were certainly not of the high elite, having none of the cultic elements which were the trappings of wealth at this cemetery, the clustering of their tombs around those of the high elite strongly suggest they were attached to these individuals in some fashion. The lower class owners of the shaft tombs must not have been low class *per se*, but were perhaps of sub-elite or a working class related to the maintenance of the high elite. Without text, it is impossible to know if the shaft tomb owners built their own tombs or if the tomb was built for them. Regardless, carving a shaft tomb from bedrock and perhaps building a small superstructure required access to labor, thus making it unlikely that the tombs belonged to members of the poorest agricultural class. Obviously access to the site was limited. However, those who had permission to build their small tombs near the high elite could not have had access simply due to their socioeconomic standing. Many people could have fallen within the sub-elite, likely more than represented at Meidum. Rather, the shaft tomb owners must have earned access at least in part through personal ties with the upper class. Together, three classes – royal, elite, and sub-elite/working class – crafted a landscape within which a lower class was reliant upon an upper class for access to restricted sacred space, access to restricted funerary ritual (meaning both equipment and performance), and for community structuring within that sacred space.

It is further notable that tombs at Medium appear to cluster by *class* and not by *individual*. No individual mastabas in the Northern Cemetery acted as an organizational node for sub-elite tomb clustering. Rather, the sense is much more communal, of a relationship between a group of high elite and a group of the lower class tombs. The landscape shows not individual relationships and dependence, but a large scale social contract in which the lower elite class turn to the high elite as patrons. Such a relationship could explain the lack of visibility, emphasis on, or easy access to cultic installations in the sub-elite tombs. If the lower class depended on the elite for access to the sacred space and cultic rituals of Meidum, it is possible that the elite, their mastabas, and their cults were understood to protect and provide for their lower class clients in the afterlife as well. By procuring a spot in this cemetery, the lower class owners of shaft tombs did not simply insert themselves into the mortuary landscape. They were given space within an elite afterlife, perpetuating the relationships of dependence which presumably had taken place first in life. Their souls needed no access to food and offerings through mortuary cult, but instead required access to the elite who, through their status in the afterlife, could ensure that the eternal needs of lesser-status individuals were met. The sub-elite/working class was therefore integrated into the community through physical location, common goods, and by ritual action.

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[105] Rahotep (M6), Nihep (M8), and Nefermaat were all *zꜣ nswt*; in the case of Rahotep and Nefermaat they were specifically *zꜣ nswt Snfrw*. They bore other titles as well, often relating them to high positions in the priesthood. PM IV, pp. 90–92.

[106] For example, PETRIE found the mummy of Ranefer intact in M9, though it was destroyed during removal from the tomb. W. M. F. PETRIE, *Medum*, pp. 17–18.

[107] For example, M17: W. M. F. PETRIE/E. MACKAY/G. WAINWRIGHT, *Meydum*, pp. 16–17.

It is a truism in the study of the Egyptian afterlife that the Egyptians pictured their lives after death to be a fruitful, bounteous version of the lives they had lived. But we should insert the social structure of the time into that picture as well and understand that community and community creation would have been a main driver in how the afterlife and cemetery organization would have been implemented. The tombs at Meidum and their ceramics show that there was a common vision of ritual and ceremony for all Egyptians privileged with burial in a royal necropolis in the early Fourth Dynasty. Though these individuals belonged to a range of socioeconomic positions, they shared the site of Meidum. A common funeral ritual and ritual toolkit further unified them. They present the vision of a community. However, despite the commonalities, rank within Egyptian society still defined the role and responsibilities of a given individual in the afterlife, much as it had in life. In order to understand these relationships, we must turn to studying cemeteries as complete entities rather than focusing on individual tombs or solely on elite structures. Returning to excavation notes from older excavations provides one avenue by which to add the lower classes or sub-elite and their poorer tombs to our discourse.

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Abstract

The private cemeteries at Meidum tend to be overshadowed by the pyramid. This bias is in part due to scholarship's tendency to discuss royalty; it is further exacerbated by the fact that the best published excavations of the Meidum took place over one hundred years ago, under W. M. F. PETRIE. Further excavations at the private cemeteries were conducted by A. ROWE under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania Museum but remain unpublished. Using archival material and museum objects from ROWE's excavation, this paper moves away from the pyramid to present a broad socioeconomic view of Meidum's Northern Cemetery. The presence of poorer shaft tombs interspersed between mastabas suggests that Meidum was a cemetery integrated by class; its pottery suggests a unification and integration of ritual across classes.


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Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 22./23./24. Vorbericht

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Ceramics and Status at Meidum's Northern Cemetery



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